China monthly Review

密勒氏評論報

CHINA'S TIBETAN FRONTIER

SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
. . . CHEN REN-BING

FRENCH DEFEAT IN INDO-CHINA
. . . TAO WEI-LIEN

SUPPLEMENT
REPORTS to the SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES' CONFERENCE

DECEMBER 1950 **JMP 6,500**

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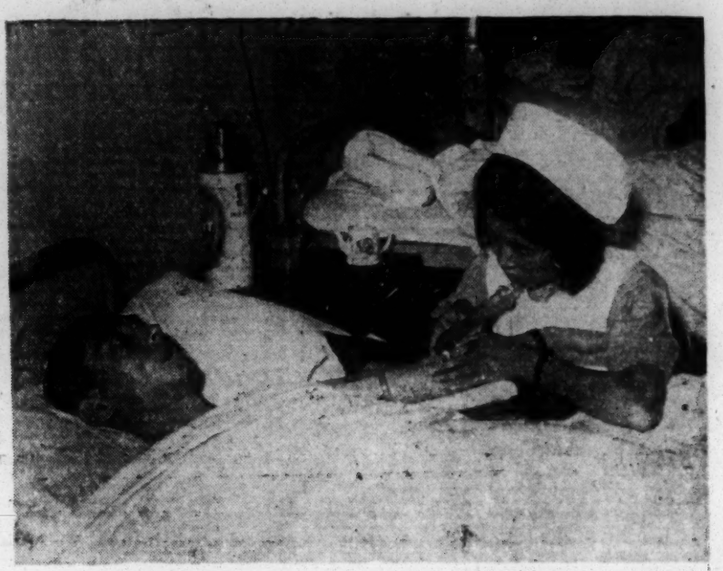
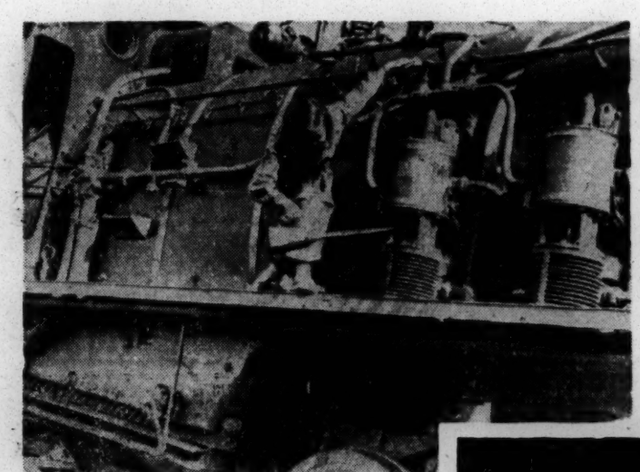
China's Women at Work

Peasant labor heroine Chang Kwei-lan whose outstanding work won her a prize cow.



Model nurse Chung Ming-yueh making a blood test of a patient.

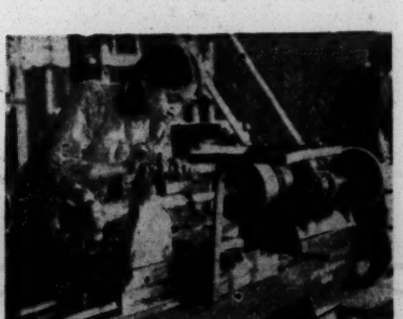


A woman assistant locomotive engineer at Dairen oiling the engine.

Lin Shui-lan, labor heroine of the Chinghsien Cotton Mill.

Women workers in a medical plant in the Northeast packing medicine.

Li Feng-lien, a young student at the People's University.



Wei Shu-kwei, operator of a machine in the Chung-Chang RR workshops.

LETTERS From the People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of the *China Monthly Review*.

BRUTAL INVASION

To the Editor:

America's invasion of Korea is many times more brutal and fascist than Hitler's and Tojo's adventures, judging from the broadcasts by the American captives. Despite the sending of reinforcements from America, Britain and other countries, the war will end in victory for the Korean independence movement and in the final destruction of American imperialism throughout the world.

America's action has served to revitalize the determination of all the "backward" races to obtain freedom and independence. Witness the power of the popular forces in Korea, China, Malaya, Indo-China and the Philippines.

I wonder how America could have come to her present sorry state and how she will be able to restore the situation which existed in Abraham Lincoln's days when she was a nation of the people, for the people and by the people.

As to the new Review, I was indeed pleased to see the initial issue in the form of a monthly. I have two suggestions to make. 1) Reinsert the International Affairs section and, 2) publish more articles like Alec Stock's "Germany: America's Watchdog in Europe." Readers in the interior of China don't have the same easy access to foreign news as do those in the coastal cities. Thus, the Review is very useful in helping us maintain a proper perspective of world affairs.

S. Y. LIVINGSTON HU

Chungking
October 24, 1950

HELP THE KOREANS

To the Editor:

At present the US imperialist forces are marching forward near our motherland's borders and US airplanes are continuously threatening the security of our Northeast. We must realize that the aggressive actions carried out by the US government are not only against Korea and Taiwan but also against all of Asia.

Under these serious circumstances, we must give the Korean people both moral and material assistance with all our might. At the same time we must join hands with the peace-loving peoples of the world to fight for a lasting world peace.

All the professors and students of our university have organized themselves into many committees to defend peace and struggle against US aggression. There is a social education section, a propaganda section, an art section and an entertainment section.

Everyone in our college enthusiastically signed his name to the joint declaration of November 4, issued by the Chinese Communist Party and other democratic parties and groups.

CHU JIUNN-SHYR

Chiao Tung University, Peking College
Peking
November 6, 1950

AIDING THE PRESS

To the Editor:

Formerly the newspapers of the cities were circulated through agents only in the larger towns or hsiens. Thus, the people of the countryside found it very difficult to subscribe and receive newspapers regularly.

This situation changed when the Postoffice took over the circulation and distribution of newspapers and magazines. All the work of wrapping, transporting and delivering various newspapers to the readers is being carried out by the Postoffice, and the postal service can reach readers even in the small towns and villages.

When land reform is completed throughout the country, there will be a great increase in demand for newspapers by the peasants. To meet this need, a circulation department has been set up in each District Head Postoffice, which is to pay special attention to circulating publications among rural areas. Now the people can order any newspaper from their local Postoffice whereas formerly they had to write letters and remit money to different agents in the large cities for any paper they wanted. There are at present 258 newspapers in China and the circulation of most of them is being handled by the Postoffice.

This has affected many private newspaper agents and dealers, and the plan of the Directorate-General of Posts is to help them to study and learn so they will be qualified later to work in the Postoffice. No new private agents are permitted to establish agencies.

In the USSR there are 480,000 postal employees. Comparing this with the population in China, there should be about 2,000,000 postal workers in the future, but now China only has 53,000, including postal agents. This means that there will be many opportunities for private newspaper agents and dealers if they fit themselves to serve the people.

Before the Postoffice took over the circulation of publications in July of this year in Honan, the Honan Daily published 27,000 copies every day. The number increased gradually until now the paper puplishes 46,000 copies. This should increase much more when agrarian reform has been completed and more and more peasants become literate.

CHANG SHU-CHI

Kaifeng, Honan
November 10, 1950

ROUNDING UP BANDITS

To the Editor:

The following true story took place just 10 li from my home.

The common border of Hunan, Szechuen and Hupeh provinces is featured by rough mountains, dangerous rapids and serpentine roads. People there were victimized by opium and fooled and thoroughly exploited by landlords. For these reasons the place has been infested with bandits for years.

Following the liberation many spies of the KMT and the landlords immediately organized remnants of the KMT soldiers to fight against the local PLA. They roamed about the country and did a great deal of damage to this district.

As the people's political understanding grew, they became more and more angered over the disturbances of the bandits. Moreover, the PLA troops stationed in the area became more familiar with the local conditions. The bandits were then forced to withdraw to their old hideouts in the Eight-Face Mountains—a tremendous range covered with high cliffs in the vicinity of Lungshan, Hunan and Lifoun, Hupeh.

There is a huge natural cavern in one of the cliffs which can hold thousands of people and this became the new headquarters of the bandits. At its foot there are many deep and swampy pits edged with wild shrubs and prickly bushes. There are only two hidden paths leading to the cavern. Each path was fortified with local-made cannons and big stones.

Several PLA soldiers who tried to get the bandits to surrender were killed. When this news reached the ears of the local army men, vengeance burned in their hearts.

It was a severe winter with a cold wind, heavy rains and deep snow, but the PLA advanced toward the bandits' hideout. On their arrival they fired at the cavern and tried in every way to attack the bandits, but their first efforts were in vain.

At last, they hit upon a good plan. With the enthusiastic help of the native mountaineers they were led up to a small ledge at the top of the cavern along a third path which is known only to a very few people. Then some of the PLA soldiers were lowered in gasoline barrels into the cavern at midnight. By machine-gunning and throwing grenades, the PLA ended forever the cruel rule of the local bandits.

TSOU TA-WEI

National Hsiang Ya Medical College
Changsha, Hunan
November 13, 1950

CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW

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(Editor & Publisher, 1918-1949)

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The Shanghai People's Representatives' Conference. Speech by Mayor Chen Yi and reports by Hsu Ti-hsin, Ma Shun-ku, Hsia Yen and Liu Chang-sheng.

WINTER RELIEF

To the Editor:

I was profoundly moved as well as educated by the warm-hearted response on the part of our whole Journalists' School to the call of the General Association for winter relief clothing for flood victims in north Anhwei, north Kiangsu, Hopei and Honan.

All donations were given on a voluntary basis. A good many students and staff members who had been living on the "provide all" system were obviously devoid of any savings, but still they generously gave their monthly allowance in support of the drive. Some were found busy ransacking their trunks for whatever clothing they could dispense with. Quite a few comparatively wealthy students each made a handsome contribution of cash and in one case more than 20 garments were presented by a single person.

The 10 days' relief drive brought far greater results than were generally expected, with a total contribution from our school of JMP 2,974,800 and with 302 garments and other articles of wear. In this respect, it should be pointed out that the whole school including students, staff members and others consists of only about 250 people.

So far as I know, a relief drive of such a magnitude was unknown to any educational institution under the KMT rule. This would seem to indicate that the intelligentsia have now grown more sympathetic and concerned about the sufferings of their compatriots and place great confidence in the honesty and sincerity of the people's government.

HSU CHIEN

Peking Journalists' School
October 27, 1950

DISLIKES HONGKONG

To the Editor:

This city is quite a contrast after Shanghai. Prices of local commodities are much higher than Shanghai although imported things seem to be quite cheap. There are a number of new movies showing daily but the quality has deteriorated a lot since prewar days.

One thing that Shanghai can boast quite easily is the fact that there are more prostitutes on the streets here than there ever were in Shanghai, even in the days when the American Navy was in port. Apparently the authorities keep their eyes closed and no effort seems to be made to get rid of this social disgrace. The papers are full of reports of local rooberies, murders, etc., a condition which to my knowledge was practically non-existent when I left Shanghai a couple of months ago.

It is impossible to recognize the Shanghai I knew from the reports that appear in the local press here. I did not believe it would be possible that all the foreign papers would carry so many distortions and lies about developments in China.

EX-SHANGHAILANDER

Hongkong
October 16, 1950

CORRECTIONS

To the Editor:

I would appreciate if you would publish the following corrections in my article on "Turning Point for China's Cooperatives," which appeared in the October issue of the Review.

On page 36, column 3, fourth paragraph, the sentence should read: "The Common Program wrote it into economic policy in its Article 38:"

On page 36, column 3, fourth paragraph, line 7 in parenthesis should read: "(though efficient cooperatives will show profits)."

PETER TOWNSEND

October 30, 1950
Peking

OLD PROVERB

To the Editor:

We have now finished the preliminary course of "The History of Social Development" and we understand the reasons that cause exploitation and oppression. Now we are studying "The History of the Chinese Revolution" and the need for land reform.

Our political knowledge is becoming firmly rooted and we no longer believe the old proverb which said, "A good boy should never be a soldier just as a good piece of iron should never be molded into a nail."

In the former days, the innocent people were often bulldozed and oppressed by the soldiers of Chiang's bandits, but the care and protection of the PLA is quite different.

ROBERT CHAI

East China Military and Political Academy
Nanking
October 25, 1950

AMERICAN YOUTH

To the Editor:

In the Youth Daily of October 10, I read a very interesting letter written by David McManns, an American delegate of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. He wrote:

To the youth of Shanghai:

American progressive youth send their fondest greetings to you. Our responsibility in the fight for peace is very great for our country is the center of imperialism and war. We pledge to follow your example. We shall not rest until we together with you and the democratic youth of the world secure a lasting peace!

From the above letter, we know that peace-loving people are in all countries, the imperialist countries as well. Our goal to secure world lasting peace is the same. I hope the American progressive youth can carry out this pledge so that we can attain our common goal.

S. JOHN HAN

Fuh Tan University
Shanghai
November 4, 1950

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China monthly Review

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"REVIEWING SHANGHAI"

JOHN W. POWELL
Editor and Publisher

Dear Review Reader:

In recent issues we have asked for suggestions, criticisms and any and all expressions of opinion about the new Review. We have had a great many and they have been most helpful to us.

For a long time we have felt that the present size and shape of the Review was a bit awkward. Actually, it was the accepted standard for political weeklies some 30 years ago when the Review was founded.

The main difficulty is that the present size and shape of the pages make publication unnecessarily expensive. The newsprint has to be cut to a special size, and in the printing process itself, our large, long pages do not fit the presses well.

Therefore, we are now working out a new page size which will be approximately an inch shorter and a slight bit narrower than the present size. We tenatively plan to make the change next month.

* * *

The Review still needs more readers. Circulation last month went up a few hundred over the previous issue, but we will have to "grow" quite a bit more if we are to cover expenses. Many readers have given us great help in passing their copies on to friends and suggesting that they subscribe. To these readers we express our thanks for the work already done and our hope that they will keep it up.

John W Powell

China monthly Review

密勒氏評論報

Established in 1917

The editorial pages present the opinions of the editor. The other pages of the *China Monthly Review* are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 119 Shanghai, December 1950 No. 4

KOREAN WAR SPREADS

THE past month has seen several new developments in Truman's Korean adventure. Truman and MacArthur have had to abandon their "unofficial" promise of winding up hostilities in time to "get the boys home for Thanksgiving."

What happened was that MacArthur made another blunder and sent his men into a Korean trap. Actually, it is rather difficult to place all the blame upon MacArthur since he is fighting a new kind of enemy—a people's army. Unlike the armies with which MacArthur has been accustomed to dealing—including his own—a people's army knows what it is fighting for and fights with a fierceness which is incomprehensible to men like MacArthur.

The Korean People's Army fights for the freedom and independence of the Korean people. Because of this, the KPA receives the full support of the Korean people. As a result the army becomes indistinguishable from the people and the struggle for liberation can only end with the ousting of MacArthur's troops.

Being political figures, Truman and MacArthur are unable to admit that they have bitten off more than they can comfortably chew.

Thus, in their "search" for excuses, they cast about wildly for some reason which will not reflect upon themselves. They blame China, they blame the Soviet Union, they blame the Koreans for not fighting according to the rule book, they blame the cold weather, they blame their "allies" for not helping more and so on and so on. In short, they put the blame every place but where it properly belongs which is squarely upon their own shoulders.

Like the French who are fighting a "dirty war" in Indo-China and the British who are waging their own version in Malaya, the Truman administration can think of only one solution—more troops. Thus, the process of turning America into an armed camp is proceeding apace as MacArthur, fought to a standstill at the front by an embattled people's army and harried on all sides by a hostile civilian population which is proving exceedingly adept at guerilla tactics, howls for more men and equipment.

IN view of this situation it seems incredible that Truman and his generals would be so mad as to desire to enlarge the conflict. However, is appears that they may well be planning just such a step.

In the past couple of months the list of US provocations against China has been growing rapidly until at the present time there is an almost daily attack on China by MacArthur's forces. When these "border violations" began, many observers believed that they were simply designed to "test" China's reaction. However, today it is quite evident that China cannot be bluffed and that further provocations are almost certain to lead to America's involvement with this country.

If we re-read the papers for the past few months, we can immediately see the "pattern" which these provocations fall into. We can also see clearly that this was a planned maneuver and that it is fast approaching a climax.

When the US forces first began their offensive on the southern tip of Korea, press dispatches began quoting "informed sources," which of course meant *official sources*, to the effect that China need have no worries about war coming close to her border. The US, it was said, would stop at the 38th Parallel. Then, when the 38th Parallel was crossed, it was declared that this was occasioned only by military necessity and that the US would halt about 50 miles short of the Chinese border.

When the 50-mile mark was passed, the foreign correspondents again, on the basis of the same "informed sources," reported that the US would definitely stop 10 miles short of the Manchurian border.

Shortly thereafter all pretenses were thrown to the winds. Raids on Chinese territory were stepped up and confident US officers predicted that their troops would reach the China border within a day or two.

It was at this point that the press began publishing the first hints that the China border might not be the stopping place which Truman and his generals had in mind. Correspondents' began quoting "experts" on Korea as stating that there was "no natural boundary" between China and Korea. One story said that many Chinese lived south of the Yalu River and many Koreans lived north of it so that the river could not be considered as a really definitive boundary.

However, all talk of real and imaginary boundaries became somewhat premature when the Korean People's Army sprang its trap on the over-extended US forces. Several thousand casualties were quickly inflicted and the generals had to pull in their horns. For the past few weeks the US and KPA forces have been engaged in extremely fierce fighting. Daily gains and losses are measured in yards as the bitter, see-saw struggle continues on the snow-covered terrain.

MEANWHILE, as it became evident that MacArthur and his generals had definite and immediate designs upon China's Northeast, the Chinese people have become increasingly restive. Throughout the country in schools, factories, offices and other organizations, mass meetings condemning America's adventuristic policy have been held.

Chinese youth, worried over the threat which Truman's ill-concealed designs pose to their country, have begun volunteering for service with the Korean People's Army.

For some weeks prior to this development "informed quarters" had been blaming each US reverse upon China or the Soviet Union. The arrival of Chinese volunteers was the signal for the launching of an all-out propaganda campaign by the Truman administration in which every effort was made to blame China for all of America's troubles in Korea.

At the time of writing MacArthur has thrown precautions to the winds and aerial attacks upon the cities and towns of China across the Yalu River are a daily occurrence. During the past few days there have been a number of statements by "informed sources" predicting that the US may find it "necessary" to enlarge the scope of these raids and to bring other areas of the country under attack. Likewise, there have been denials that this course is being considered. However, on the basis of previous press declarations and denials, it seems most likely that this is but the propaganda prelude to MacArthur's launching of further provocations against China.

Although Truman and MacArthur apparently have learned nothing in Korea, where they and their "allies" now have some 350,000 troops committed, it would seen reasonable to presume that they would hesitate before involving China. If Korea, a nation of no more than 30,000,000 people, has already demanded 350,000 soldiers and with the end not in sight, what would China, a nation of close to 500,000,000, require? However, the men running America today have convincingly demonstrated that they are not reasonable men, so it is possible that their folly may lead them to virtually any lengths.

No matter what happens, the Chinese people, who have at last become masters in their own house, are determined that never again shall foreign adventurers gain a foothold. Any extension of the Korean war will only bring criminal suffering and destruction to more peoples—including the American people—and will only increase the debt which America already owes—and must some day repay—to the victims of Truman's adventuristic foreign policy.

NO MORE FLOODS

WITH the arrival of the low-water season, flood control work in East China is being stepped up. Hundreds of thousands of farmers, PLA men and volunteer workers are already on the job and, before the winter's work is finished, the figure for this area alone will approach the 2,000,000 mark.

While the Huai River project is the season's major undertaking, thousands of men are working on other major rivers and their various tributaries. In Shantung 220,000 peasants and government personnel have begun work on the fourth stage of the Shu River project.

Along a 140-kilometer stretch of the river, a new course is being dug through rocky mountainous country. New dikes are being built, culverts put in place and a dam constructed in this one section alone. When this stage is finished, an additional 300,000 hectares will be removed from the threat of flood.

Meanwhile an "army" of 420,000 is now starting work on the Yi River project. Spread over a large area these farmers and volunteers are at work on more than 10 tributaries, as well as on several sections of the Grand Canal. The present stage of the work is to dredge the Yi's main tributaries and to strengthen the embankments along the Grand Canal.

Work on the Yi River project began last year and is scheduled to be completed in 1952. However, as a result of last year's work some 400,000 hectares, or about half of the area usually flooded by the Yi, were saved.

While these rivers have been trouble makers for several decades, it has only been in recent years that the floods have reached disastrous proportions. When the Yellow River course was altered it flooded large sections of this area and, after its return to its old course, it was found that the beds of many of the smaller streams which had "disappeared" under its flood had become silted up. As a result, these rivers ran more or less helter-skelter, carving out new channels.

Today the Huai, Yi, and Shu rivers are closely interwoven, connected by many tributaries and criss-crossing back and forth over the same territory. Thus, when the high water season arrives, flood waters from one river empty into another and in recent years extensive areas in East China have been turned into inland seas each spring and summer.

The magnitude of the work can be seen from the fact that besides the 640,000 people working on the combined Yi and Shu projects, 1,000,000 peasants, PLA men, government workers, refugees and volunteers are preparing to start work on the Huai project.

China can now look forward to a not too distant day when floods will be a thing of the past. As the Minister of Water Conservancy, Fu Tso-yi, said some time ago, the people now fear the rivers and the present task is to get every drop of water to the sea as rapidly as possible. However, he added, the day will soon come when the people will treasure and make use of every drop.

THE PROVINCE OF TIBET

William Paget

TIBET, the "roof of the world," remote and inaccessible central Asian land, has recently been forced into prominence because of its relationship with liberated China. For centuries, Tibet, although largely independent, nevertheless had close religious, cultural and economic ties with China. Over long periods, Tibet's rulers sent tribute to the Chinese emperor; and China has always considered Tibet a part of China, the Tibetans one of China's family of races.

However, during the past 50 years, British imperialism has tried to disrupt this long-standing relationship in its own interests, and beginning with World War II, the US has also become involved in Tibet.

Western Designs

In the early years of this century, Britain's efforts were devoted to the maintenance of a friendly regime in Tibet, thus ensuring the safety of India's frontiers. More recently, Tibet's autocratic rulers have been wooed by the west in the hope that they will prevent the downtrodden, priest-ridden people from liberating themselves and joining their country to the people's China. The West had hopes to keep Tibet as its central Asian anti-communist bastion.

Bordering China's Sikang, Chinghai and Sinkiang provinces on one side and India, Nepal and Bhutan on the other, Tibet is an immense territory, sparsely populated, with ill-defined boundaries. It is a land of superlatives. It is the highest country in the world, with tablelands averaging 16,000 feet in altitude. Variations in climate are extreme. Gold occurs almost everywhere. It has no wheeled vehicles; everything must be carried on the backs of men or animals. It is the most religious country in the world, with its 3,000,000 population ruled by a priest-king, the Dalai Lama, who heads a hierarchy of 600,000 Buddhist monks (lamas).

Feudalism Prevails

Tibet's high altitude accounts for its rigorous climate; at one 16,000-foot elevation, a July average of 40 degrees F. was recorded, with extreme daily variations. The Himalayas cut off most of the rain, which averages only eight inches a year. A feudal system of agriculture is carried on in the warmer valleys, while herdsmen tend flocks of yak, sheep and goats in the upland wastes.

The Tibetan people, thought to have originated in the Mongolian plateau, are ruled by the Dalai Lama, who is supreme in both civil and religious affairs. When the Dalai dies, his successor, held to be his reincarnation, is chosen by the three chief monasteries in Lhasa, the capital, with the help of two oracles.

Tibetan society may be divided into the nobility, monks, traders, and peasants and herdsmen, with large groups of beggars and brigands. These divisions shade into one another; monks engage in trade, and brigands also. The peasants and many herdsmen are in feudal bondage to the nobility. The fact that 600,000 monks live celibate lives in the monasteries has created a deficiency of manpower on the land.

There is an enormous gulf between the tiny religious and civil ruling groups and the other classes. About 100 leading families and priest groups, totaling five percent of the population, rule Tibet. One family estate comprises 1,400 farms and 13 grazing grounds; such powerful families are the chief support of the theocracy.

The small middle class is composed of the traders.

The peasants and herdsmen, 90 percent of the population, are burdened by excessive taxes, rents and the myriad services exacted by the feudal system. They are little more than chattels to the feudal lords and ecclesiastical dignitaries who own and dispose of them.

The peasants especially have been forced into increasingly bitter conditions of serviture, as there are not enough men to till the arable valley lands.

Women's Status

Compared with other eastern races, Tibetan women have always held a high status. In former times, women ruled principalities, and they still exercise a considerable influence on politics. But they have little say in religious affairs, and they cannot choose their husbands. A daughter may inherit the family estate if she is the only child, and many women manage the shops and retail trade, especially in Lhasa.

Polyandry, polygamy and monogamy are all practiced; monogamy is most prevalent. When a woman marries one brother in a family, she also marries all his younger brothers. The "red hat" lamas, a powerful sect, are permitted to marry, and one monastery is inhabited by both monks and nuns who marry and devote the offspring to religious service.

The wealthy live in many-storied houses and wear picturesque and costly clothing; a state dress may be worth US$25,000. The peasants live in hovels, the herdsmen in yak-hair tents, moving about, and once a year going to market at Lhasa. Besides herding and agriculture, some woolen textiles are produced; but in Tibet, religion is the biggest business, and the production of images and cult-objects is economically very important.

Owing to the rigorous climate, the people eat meat, despite Buddhist tenets, which with barley flour, cheese and tea, forms the staple diet. Not enough cereals can be grown at high altitudes to feed the population on a vegetarian diet. Rice is a luxury for the wealthy only. The main beverages are tea and beer, the tea being boiled and then churned with butter and salt.

Religion's Hold

The predominant role played by religion in Tibet gives the Dalai Lama high personal prestige and authority, and his prestige extends into China's western provinces, where Buddhism is strong. There is a widespread belief in reincarnation, and the Dalai Lama has often been reincarnated in a peasant's family.

Tibet has many oracles, and pilgrims are ubiquitous; thousands of "prostration pilgrimages" are made yearly to Lhasa, the pilgrim measuring his journey by his own length along the ground, in the manner of an inchworm. The medical profession is a branch of the priesthood; to practice cures with herbs and incantations, priest-doctors must study 10 years at the Lhasa medical college.

The few noble families, unrestricted by an unnatural monastic life, are given to gambling, horse-racing, picnics and theatricals. Much time and care is given to the observance of complicated ceremony and etiquette in social relations.

Trade in Lhasa

Lhasa, the capital, has a population of about 50,000, including the monks at the three large and many small monasteries in and around the city. Lhasa is full of monasteries and temples, chief of which is the famous Potala (Palace of the Gods), which, built on a rocky ridge, towers a thousand feet above the plain. A stupendous architectural feat, it was begun in 1641 by the 5th Dalai Lama, and is the official residence of the Dalai and his entourage.

Lhasa attracts pilgrims, students and merchants. In December, traders arrive from west China with silk, carpets, chinaware and tea; from Sining with silk, gold lace, carpets, semi-precious stones, horses, saddles,

and fat-tailed sheep; from eastern Tibet with musk; from Bhotan and Sikkim with rice and tobacco; and from India with many goods including saffron.

Importance of Tea

As tea is one of the necessities of life, the China tea trade is very important. The tea is pressed into bricks, weighing about five and a half pounds, which are often used as currency. About 10,000,000 pounds of tea is brought to Tibet through Tachienlu in a year. India has long wanted to break into this trade, but Indian tea cannot be cured to suit the Tibetan taste.

Religious festivals are an important part of life in Lhasa. The New Year festival, lasting more than two weeks, features the "dance of the gods." A rope, stretched from the summit of the Potala to the plain, is greased, and candidates attempt to slide down its length to the ground; many are killed. Another festival is a six-day "prayer," which one observer termed a sort of saturnalia. "Unspeakable disorder and confusion reign," he said, "while gangs of lamas parade the streets, shouting, singing, and coming to blows."

Before Lhasa became the seat of Tibet's rulers, 12 centuries ago, the capital was on the Yarlung River, in eastern Tibet. In the seventh century, King Srong-tsan-gampo transferred his capital to Lhasa. This king, who married a Chinese princess, was converted to Buddhism by her and another of his wives, a Nepalese princess. He was the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, and his alliance with the Chinese princess was the beginning of a long and close relationship between Tibet and China.

The historical ties between China and Tibet have been based in great part on the religious link. The Dalai Lama's position as regards the Buddhists in China may be compared with that of the Pope as regards Catholics. In fact, the present Dalai Lama was found reincarnated in a Chinese family in Sining, capital of Chinghai province.

As Tibet is a theocracy, the religious connection between Tibet and China gradually took on political overtones. For centuries, a politico-religious partnership existed between the emperors and Buddhist leaders of China and the Tibetan rulers. The emperor realized the advantage in exercising enough control in Lhasa to ensure peace and order in the west; in return, he extended patronage and protection to the Dalai Lama.

This partnership goes back to the 13th century, long before the first Dalai Lama. The first Dalai was Sonam Gyatso, who received the title from the Mongol chieftan Altan Khan about 1550. The partnership was strengthened during the Ch'ing Dynasty, which aided the fifth Dalai Lama to assume the political, as well as religious, sovereignty of Tibet. With the emperor's help, he subdued the warlike "red hat" order of monks, which until then had ruled most of the country, and elevated his own order, the "yellow hats," to the position of unquestioned leadership.

The present Dalai Lama, 16 years old, bears the overpowering name of Getson Ngawang Lobsang Tengin Gyapso Sisunwangyur Tshungpa Mapai Dhepal Sangpo. The real power is reputed to be in the hands of the regent, a 73-year-old lama named Tokra.

China and Tibet were closely allied from the 17th to 19th centuries. During that period, the emperor of China intervened actively in Tibetan affairs twice, each time to help the Dalai Lama consolidate his power. The alliance was subjected to its first severe test when Britain appeared on the scene.

Britain Gains Concessions

Britain's interference into Tibetan affairs began in 1904 with the armed Younghusband expedition to Lhasa. The expedition was the result of the desire of British empire-builders, who saw an opportunity to include China's vast backyard in the British Empire, and of the fear that Tsarist Russia might herself push into Tibet and thus threaten India.

The Foreign Office had long wished to expand beyond India's borders. In 1886 and 1890 Britain had compelled China to recognize her annexation of Burma and her protectorate over Sikkim, both of which had been tributaries to China. In 1904, choosing a time when Russia was occupied with her war with Japan, Britain dispatched the expedition to Lhasa under Col. Younghusband.

The result was the signing of the Lhasa Convention between Col. Younghusband and the Tibetan authorities. The convention had two noteworthy aspects; the first was that Britain set a precedent for direct negotiations, with Tibet, by-passing Peking. The second was that Britain claimed "special interests" in Tibet, enumerated in a "most-favored nation" clause, which forbade any foreign power to intervene in Tibetan affairs, and forbade Tibet to grant any concessions to a foreign power without granting similar and equivalent concessions to Britain.

Britain rationalized her conduct by accusing the Chinese government of a "lack of sincerity" in implementing the 1890 and 1893 Trade Regulations, by which China had undertaken to remove certain obstacles that Tibet had put in the way of trade.

When Younghusband's troops marched into Lhasa they found the two Chinese officials (ambans) powerless, hardly more than honored prisoners. Therefore, the Lhasa Convention paid no deference to China's sovereign rights in Tibet, and China came to realize very clearly what "the security of India" meant for her. It imposed seemingly insatiable demands,

The present Dalai Lama at the age of 10. He is now 16.

to be satisfied only at China's expense.

Nevertheless, Britain appeared content to stop short of outright annexation of Tibet. In 1906, China and Britain drew up the Peking Convention, which, although it has been termed "a masterpiece of ambiguity," still implicitly restored China's rights in Tibet. However, these rights were retrieved only at the expense of confirming the Lhasa Convention and granting certain specific rights to Britain by the Tibet Trade Regulations (1908).

Britain, in her desire to keep Russia as far away from India's borders as possible, concluded the St. Petersburg Convention with Russia in 1907, by which Russia recognized the Lhasa Convention. The St. Petersburg Convention contained the first use of the word "suzerainty" to designate China's relation to Tibet.

China's Sovereignty Upheld

Evidently, Britain thought the status quo in Tibet assured, and was willing to concede China's sovereignty as long as it served Britain's own interests. Britain deemed it necessary to confirm the Lhasa Convention in Peking in 1906, and China, not Tibet, was graciously permitted to pay the bill for Younghusband's adventure. The 1908 trade agreement was signed with China, not Tibet.

But the events of 1910-11 gave Britain the opportunity for more active interference in Tibetan affairs. In 1910, Chinese troops under the command of an ambitious general, ravaged the countryside and pillaged Lhasa, in an attempt to impose complete control over the country. The Dalai Lama fled to Darjeeling.

At first, when Peking stripped the Dalai of his titles and prerogatives in absentia and dispatched more troops in Tibet, Britain contented herself with protests. But in June of 1910 Britain also sent troops to Tibet, "to protect the life and property of her subjects," apparently in accordance with her principle that all other hands should be kept off Tibet, including China's.

But with the 1911 revolution in China, the Chinese troops in Lhasa mutinied and the Dalai Lama returned to power. Britain, with a stronger hold over the Dalai, became more insistent in her demands. She sent a strong note to China in 1911, demanding, as her price for recognition of the new government, that China not interfere in Tibet's internal affairs, not station troops in Tibet, and cease administering Tibet as a province. Britain also demanded the revision of all previous treaties regarding Tibet.

Meanwhile, the Dalai, well-schooled by the British, was pursuing an anti-Chinese policy which culminated in a declaration of independence. This was not recognized by the Chinese government. At the Simla Conference in 1914, Britain asked China for a de jure recognition of Tibet's autonomy. China did not agree; nevertheless, from that time, Britain viewed Tibet as an independent power, and China's status in Tibet as a "foreign power," to which the terms of the Lhasa Convention applied.

The Nanking government was anxious to restore China's historical status in Tibet, almost completely lost through Manchu bungling. When the 13th Dalai Lama died, Chiang Kai-shek sent a mission of sympathy to Lhasa, part of which, equipped with radio apparatus, remained, ostensibly to discuss boundary questions.

When the present Dalai was enthroned, Nanking sent another mission to Lhasa for the ceremonies, escorted by a detachment of troops. Most of this group also remained in Lhasa, together with the troops.

Britain watched these moves carefully, and, determined that her privileged position in Tibet should not be threatened, invoked the "most-favored nation" clause of the Lhasa Convention and established a British mission at Lhasa. When Nanking sent a delegation, Britain sent a delegation; when the Chinese mission set up a radio transmitter and a medical station, Britain countered with similar moves.

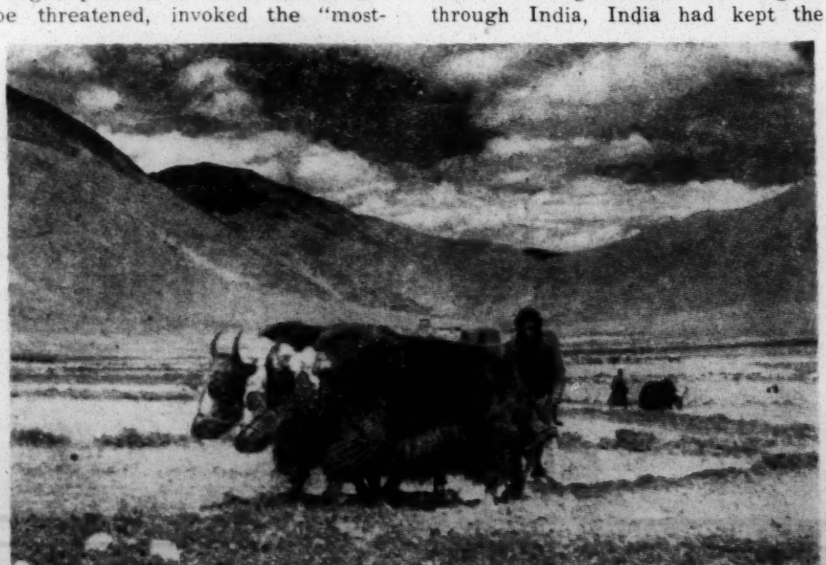
With intensified post-war pressures, the issue of Tibet's "autonomy" has brought forth even more devious and equivocal behavior on the part of everyone involved. In 1945, Lhasa asked Chiang Kai-shek to give an official recognition of Tibet's autonomy; but he kept putting the matter off.

In 1946, a Tibetan delegation was in Nanking at the time the KMT "national assembly" was writing a new constitution. The delegation visited the assembly, and were officially received, but the Tibetans asserted they were not official delegates, but had just dropped in. Possibly they hesitated to commit themselves until they could estimate the strength of Chiang's government, and what the status of Tibet would be under it.

America Takes an Interest

America entered the Tibetan scene during and after the last war. OSS agents were sent to Lhasa to establish diplomatic relationships with the Tibetan authorities, and officers were dispatched on courtesy calls, with presents for the Dalai Lama.

In 1948, a Tibetan "trade" mission visited Britain and the US. The manner of its going offended China, since members of the mission traveled on passports home-made in Lhasa, which were properly visaed by American and British consulates. The mission was interested in arranging for Tibetan exports to be paid for in dollars; since much of Tibet's foreign trade had gone through India, India had kept the



This Tibetan farmer is plowing his barley field in a valley 13,000 feet above sea level with his yaks. The yak, related to the cow, is an all-purpose animal for the Tibetans.

dollars and paid Tibet in rupees. But the mission had another aim, that of getting military aid.

Until today, the Tibetan masses have been political nonentities, living in deprivation and ignorance. The ruling class, the top five percent of the population, have tried to adjust themselves as best they could to the opposing pull of China and the west, hoping to keep their own position at whatever cost.

There are two general divisions of the ruling class, which may be called the "status quoists" and the more enlightened group. Both have been cultivated assidiously by the west, to prevent them from looking toward China to reassume her historic role of Tibet's guardian.

Those Tibetans who wish to maintain the status quo point to Tibet's de facto independence, and to the inaccessibility of the country to buttress their stand. They fear democracy, and the west has played on their fears, so that a tacit understanding has grown up between the Tibetan ruling class and the British government to keep things as they are to preserve a united front against China.

More Liberal Attitude

A more liberal outlook is held by part of the ruling class, who tend to incline toward China and who realize the impossibility of "independence" in today's world. They observe the infiltration of new ideas, and increasing dissatisfaction and unrest among the people. They see the exploited peasantry, no longer able to endure oppression and privation, abandoning villages and leaving the country.

It is against this background that recent developments have occurred in Tibet. In 1949, there were indications that the west was stepping up its efforts to ensure that Tibet would remain an anti-communist bulwark in central Asia. In July, word was received in India that there had been a "communist revolt" in Tibet, that many Chinese and Tibetans had been killed, and that all wire communications with Lhasa had been cut. Rumors multiplied for two weeks, until the Indian News Agency admitted that there had been no "revolt."

Instead, it appeared that the pro-western faction in control in Lhasa, the regent, high priests and part of the nobility, decided to expel some 80 Chinese officials. They were said to have feared absorption by China, if the officials remained. The western press hailed the move as proving Tibet's independence, completely passing over the fact that the British mission continued to sit unruffled in Lhasa.

The British Office had, through the years, and in the person of H. W. Richardson, come to exercise great control over the country's economy and its political links with the outside world. Indian protests about allowing this office to remain in the control of the British Foreign Office obliged New Delhi to send an Indian "apprentice" to succeed Richardson. However, the latter remained in Lhasa to work for the interests of his mother country without the least hindrance.

With the liberation of most of the mainland of China by the PLA, and the establishment of the People's Government of China late last year, the KMT was removed from the Tibetan picture for good.

But a new people's government had been established in China, a government which, unlike the KMT, was carrying out its stated policy of fairness and equal treatment of minority groups. Its position regarding Tibet was unequivocally set forth as follows, toward the end of 1949: "The Chinese People's Liberation Army must liberate all Chinese territory including Tibet, Sikang, Hainan Island and Taiwan, and will not permit a single inch of territory to remain outside the rule of the Chinese People's Republic. Tibet is Chinese territory and no foreign aggression is allowed; the Tibetan people are an indivisible part of the Chinese people and no foreign partitioning is tolerated."

The Panchen Lama, next to the Dalai Lama in the Tibetan hierarchy, had long been exiled to Chinghai. His exile was a result of a falling-out of factions in Lhasa; he favored closer relations with China, while the Dalai (actually, the regent) inclined to the British side.

The Panchen Lama was thus liberated by the people's army, and lost no time in affirming his desire to cooperate with the people's government.

He was, he said, awaiting the opportunity to return to Tibet; with the establishment of the Central People's Government, he expected the early liberation of Tibet.

Early this year, according to a *UP* dispatch, Lhasa announced its intention to dispatch "good will" missions to the US and Britain which had the assignment of declaring Tibet's independence. This provoked a storm of anger from Tibetan groups in liberated China, as well as from the Panchen Lama and Peking.

Mission to Peking

By May, negotiations between Peking and Lhasa had reached the point where an eight-man mission set out from Lhasa on its way, via India and Hongkong, to "discuss Tibet's future" with the people's government. The government of India granted the necessary visas to the members of the mission, including a transit visa for Hongkong.

However, upon the eve of the mission's departure for Hongkong, the British government summarily canceled the visas of two members of the mission, who proceeded to Delhi to discuss the matter with the British High Commission. The latter was reported to be devoting his efforts to "persuade" the delegation from seeking an agreement with Peking, and in London, in mid-June, Kenneth Younger, Minister of State, told Parliament that there was delay in granting the visas since "there was some doubt as to the intentions of this delegation."

By mid-August, Mr. Krishna Menon, India's High Commissioner to Britain, said that his government had "advised" Peking to use "moderation" toward Tibet. He further stated unequivocally that India, like Britain, recognized Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

Despite British attempts to forestall a meeting between the Tibetan delegation and representatives of the people's government, a break in the deadlock appeared toward the end of August, when the Chinese ambassador arrived in New Dehli. Talks were begun, and the Tibetan delegation joined the representatives of Peking in observing the first anniversary of the People's Republic of China on October 1.

* * *

PLA Victories

UP to the present time there has been no announcement regarding the course of these talks. However, on November 8 it was announced that the Southwest Military and Administrative Committee had issued a political directive to PLA troops advancing to liberate Tibet, instructing the troops to respect religious shrines and to safeguard the habits and customs of the Tibetan people. Troops were also ordered not to interfere with religious services or to occupy temples without the express permission of the responsible people.

Within a few days the press carried a number of stories describing the first stages of the PLA campaign. The first battle resulted in a decisive victory for the PLA. Shortly thereafter, large-scale defections were reported among the ranks of the Tibetan troops.

Also evident at this stage was the old hand of foreign intervention. Two Britishers were among those captured in the first battle. Further, India lodged a "protest" with Peking, "regretting" the opening of the PLA campaign. China's reply was short and to the point. The Chinese government, it said, considered Tibet a domestic matter.

At press time, reports indicated that the PLA, despite the extremes of cold and altitude was making steady progress, thus giving promise of an early liberation of Tibet and an ending for once and all of the Tibetan "problem."

Chinese in Java Celebrate October 1

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Overseas Chinese in Indonesia put on mammoth demonstrations on October 1, hailing the first anniversary of the establishment of the Central People's Government of China. The occasion was featured by parades, dances, plays and speeches. Pictures on this page show some of the activities in Soerabaja on the island of Java. Some 300,000 people are reported to have witnessed the celebrations in this city.

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Above: Students of the Fu Wu and Hsin Hua middle schools put on a drum dance in the streets which continued until midnight.

Left: A Tibetan dance performed by members of the Overseas Chinese Students' Association.

Lower left: Part of the parade through the streets of Soerabaja. The banner behind Chairman Mao's picture reads: "Chinese Overseas Youth Front."

Lower right: After dark the paraders carried torches. A section of the parade is seen here passing through the Kapasan Arch.

The People's Representatives' Conference

Shanghai takes another step toward democratic self-government as local representatives meet to discuss city administration and to elect municipal councilors.

FOR nine days I attended and participated in the first session of the Second People's Representatives' Conference of Shanghai (October 15-24).

The Conference took place in the auditorium of the Shanghai People's Municipal Government. With seats and writing desks for 823 delegates, the hall was filled to capacity. Scrolls bearing mottos and texts depicting the central theme of "People's Democratic Dictatorship" decorated the walls. The place of honor in the center of the platform was occupied by the portraits of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

A word about the nature of the conference and the power invested in it. According to Article 15 of the Common Program, a local people's deputies' assembly is to be elected by popular vote at the conclusion of the period of military control and upon the completion of land reform in the locality. Prior to that, a representatives' conference is to be formed in lieu of the future assembly.

The Common Program prescribes that the conference shall exercise all the rights and powers of an assembly, including the power to receive and ratify reports of the mayor and directors of municipal bureaus and the power to elect the mayor and members of the municipal people's government.

The tenure for representatives to the conference is one year.

All Types of Delegates

The delegates came from all walks of life. The largest block of representatives was the workers' section which numbered 166, or about one-fifth of the total. This is not only symbolic of the fact that people's sovereignty is under the leadership of the working class, but also tallies roughly with the relative ratio the working class occupies in the population of Shanghai. The first member to call the meeting to order on behalf of the presidium, incidentally, was Mr. Liu Chang-sheng, chairman of the Shanghai Workers' Union.

The rest of the delegation was composed of representatives from the suburban farmers, women's associations in the city, educational and cultural workers, industrialists, business men, religious leaders, consumers' cooperatives, wounded soldiers and the families of liberation soldiers killed in service, members of the several democratic parties, Liberation Army, and the local police force. There were also over 50 delegates, who were just plain folks, representing various neighborhood districts. In addition, there were delegates from the municipal bureaus as well as from the Commission for Military Control.

DR. CHEN REN-BING (陳仁炳) is professor of the Department of Government at St. John's University in Shanghai. He is also one of the members of the Central Executive Committee of the China Democratic League. Because of the importance of the representatives' conferences which are being held throughout the country and which are the first step toward bringing democracy to China's cities, we asked Professor Chen, who was a delegate to the Shanghai conference, to write the accompanying article. The texts of the four reports made at the conference, as well as Mayor Chen Yi's opening speech, are contained in this month's supplement to the Review. Dr. Chen is a returned student from the United States, having received degrees from the University of Southern California and the University of Michigan.—Editor.

Inasmuch as Shanghai is primarily a commercial and industrial center, considerable weight was given to the delegation from the merchants and manufacturers, numbering 68. Representatives from this section, including many prominent bankers and industrial leaders, naturally displayed particular interest in the discussion of matters concerning wage standards, labor disputes and consultations, and other problems in the field of private enterprise. Indeed, it was one of the chief objectives of the Conference to further advance the progress made in experiments in cooperation between capital and labor for mutual benefits.

Noticeable among the delegates was the section representing the youth of Shanghai, mainly the students; 73 names appeared on the list and most of them were elected by popular vote in their own schools or colleges. The delegate representing the St. John's University students, for example, was chosen by the student body at a campus election.

Consultation Method

In the case of some sections, however, popular vote for the election of representatives was not feasible. In many cases delegates were selected through a process of consultation; that is, through the centralized exchange and sifting of opinions and recommendations.

It seems correct though to say that the final outcome of consultations in regard to the choosing of representatives proved satisfactory all-around. And here lies one of the tenets of New Democracy, democracy upon the foundation of centralized but unbiased consultations.

Take a look at the names appearing in the different sections of the Conference and you will most likely find that almost all the more prominent and representative men or women in a particular field have been picked. In the fields of music, fine arts, religious activities and in many another field, one is likely to agree that the selections were about as comprehensive and inclusive as was possible within the limitations of the quota allowed.

Naturally there is always the basic requisite that the person under consideration as a representative must be one who has accepted the political principles set forth in the Common Program. Personal views regarding the ultimate objectives of the Chinese Communist Party, i.e. the eventual adoption of socialism-communism, were not taken as a basis for candidacy to a place in the Conference.

Thus we see a Buddhist monk and a Baptist pastor sitting shoulder to shoulder with a member of the Youth Corps, and a banker sitting next to a labor union leader, all engrossed in earnest discussion of political matters of the day.

Group Discussion

More than half of the meeting time of the Conference was devoted to group discussion upon the central topics of the session, or upon the question of the selection of a Municipal Board for the People's Government of Shanghai.

Efficient conduct of the Conference and group discussions was evident throughout the session. The different sections of the entire body were sub-divided into smaller groups of not more than 20 or 30 people for each, with a view to facilitate free discussion.

Mayor Chen Yi has stressed time and again the importance of freedom to express frankly divergent views on various matters, and I feel his encouraging remarks were sincere and in accordance with the general attitude of the Chinese Communists.

It was certainly not the object of the People's Conference to merely rubber-stamp plans prepared for adoption; and in the very divergence of opinions, it seems to me, lies the strength of a common and final decision.

Mayor Chen keynoted the Conference by his opening address of almost two hours' delivery. His speech served as basis for discussion at the first meetings of the sub-groups. After describing briefly the economic and political conditions prevalent at

the time of the last Conference, he proceeded to outline broadly the improvements witnessed in Shanghai since the trying months of March, April and May of this year.

It is common knowledge that there has been a general improvement in many aspects of economic life in Shanghai. Indications are found in the increase in production and sales, in reduction in the number of unemployed workers, in gradual stabilization of prices, in the increased volume of urban-rural trade, and in the better outlook for a fair profit for private enterprises.

"These are," said the mayor, "indications that the tide has turned for the better. However," he warned, "these are to be looked upon only as the first steps of recovery." Over-eagerness to plunge into blind and planless production and investment was cautioned against. "Owners of factories," Mayor Chen added, "must make greater effort to cater to the welfare of their workers." On the other hand, it would be wrong for the workers to bring up excessive demands that could not be met under present circumstances.

The Conference was built around the triple theme of a greater unity of the people of Shanghai, a stronger democratic dictatorship for the people of Shanghai, and a greater faith in the ultimate victory of the peoples of the world—people spelled with a capital P.

Mayor Chen's address dwelled fully on the importance of all three objectives. Great strides had been made in many lines since the liberation of Shanghai. But these fruits of the people's victory could be consolidated only through continuation of efforts in the matters of labor-capital consultation and cooperation, of untiring adjustments of relationships between government and private industries.

Democratic Dictatorship

As to the strengthening of the people's democratic dictatorship, Mayor Chen called for the providing of more opportunities for democratic participation in groups and democratic exchange of ideas, on the one hand, and the adoption of more severe measures in the suppression of reactionaries on the other. The former treatment was for friends, that is, the four revolutionary classes of workers, farmers, petit bourgeoisie and the national capitalists; while the latter was for enemies, meaning the remnant adherents to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.

Mayor Chen spoke at length on the importance of having a firm faith in the ultimate victory of the People's struggles against warmongers and violators of world peace.

The discussion groups spent several mornings and afternoons in going over the mayor's report and the other four major reports.

Cases were not lacking where a differing opinion was offered in regard to certain statements. All agreed, however, that the keynote sounded by the mayor had expressed well the sentiment and common view of the Conference.

Elections Held

One of the functions of this Conference was the election of members for the Municipal Board of the People's Government of Shanghai. The ballots were cast on the day preceding the closing ceremony, but discussion and extra-meeting consultations and conclaves over the draft list of nominees started soon after the first day of the session.

As a result, two or three re-drafts were issued by the presidium for consideration by the members of the Conference. The final list of nominees contained several changes from the first. The same applied to the draft of nominees for the Shanghai Consultative Council, which is the local counterpart and subsidiary of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council. The local Council contains 73 members, including one chairman and four vice-chairmen. General Chen Yi was nominated for the chairman of the Council.

The Shanghai Consultative Council is charged with a triple function. First it serves as both a continuation committee and an executive committee for the Representatives' Conference during the period when the latter is not in session. In that capacity the Council is vested with the duty of checking from time to time the progress of the Municipal Government in executing the resolutions and acts passed at the Conference. More than 1,000 acts and enactments were filed, sifted and sorted.

The second duty of the Consultative Council is the preparation for the next session of the representative body, which will probably sit again in February, 1951.

The third and last duty is to function as substitute for the local committee for the All-China People's Political Council, as prescribed in the organic laws of the PPC. When the conference itself is displaced in the future by a popularly elected people's assembly, the Shanghai PPC will also be transformed into a local committee.

The procedure for the election of both the Municipal Board and the local PPC followed the practice of New Democracy on the principles of democratic centralism. Ample discussions were conducted and indeed encouraged during a period of preparation, and many preliminary changes were proposed, then considered and weighed carefully by the presidium. After the list of nominees had been passed back and forth between the discussion groups and the presidium, final drafts were determined. Each representative, however, had the right to vote for any one of the 823 members of the Conference he saw fit, regardless of the names printed on the ballot.

The spirit of democratic centralism is to combine free discussion with a centralized or concentrated form of the end product. This is a great contrast to the practice of old democracy in which an individual voter is faced with a hodge-podge of candidates and often the voter does not really know enough about the candidates to make an intelligent decision.

Democratic centralism, on the other hand, enables the electoral body to visualize the end-product in advance and in toto, yet all the while making it possible for changes during the process. For instance, the local PPC list contained 75 names, representing the workers, businessmen, women, youth, and so forth. No one voter could possibly know enough about each candidate from each category. Outside of his own section, he would most likely make only sporadic selections.

However, under democratic centralism, it is possible and indeed necessary for each name to go through a scrutiny by one or more of the sections which knows about the nominee.

Those who were brought up in the old tradition might wonder at the fact that the number of names appearing on the ballot equaled that of the number to be elected. It may be pointed out that in the present method the democratic process takes place in the middle, and not at the end, if at all, of the procedure.

United Front

The guiding principle of the make-up of a representative conference is the doctrine of the united front, as advanced and worked out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The basic point is the recognition of the existence of classes in China today, the impelling need to seek and win unity among the four classes, and the advisibility to put such a unity under the guidance of the proletariat. The result: the People's Democratic United Front of China.

At present the efforts of the united front are concentrated on carrying out land reform to pave the way for industrialization, and in expelling imperialism to insure national independence. When, and only when, these objectives have been fully attained, will China be ready to step into socialism. In the meantime, it will take a considerable period of spade work on the part of the united front. To us, New Democracy means a great deal of genuine team work under the leadership of the Communist Party.

— CHEN REN-BING

Dulles: Wall Street Preacher

ON the eve of the war against Nazism John Foster Dulles in his book "War, Peace, and Change," published in 1939, views Hitler, Mussolini and fascism with much gusto. He writes: "Far from being sacred, it would be iniquitous, even if it were practical, to put shackles on the dynamic people (the new fascist regimes) and condemn them forever to acceptance of conditions which might become intolerable. . . Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplates war upon us."

America's pontifical "elder-statesman," John Foster Dulles, is not just an ordinary Republican who has climbed onto the bi-partisan foreign policy bandwagon of Truman, Acheson and Marshall. A big man in Wall Street, this pious defender of "Christianity" and "humanity" has deep roots. Like so many other prominent reactionaries in America today Dulles was never concerned about the threat of "totalitarianism" when Hitler was in power.

Dulles, in addition to his relatively recent official posts, not only is a prominent lawyer but a pillar of morality by dint of his position as head of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Lately appointed one of America's UN delegates, Dulles has emerged as an international expert and open spokesman for the more "respectable" elements of American fascism.

"Old China Hand"

The trail of John Foster Dulles leads in many directions, the main one straight to Nazi Germany and the men who built up Hitler. Another one leads to the upper circles of the Republican Party via Wall Street. Of particular significance today, in view of America's actions in China and the Far East, is the fact that the dour Dulles served his apprenticeship in international scheming in a family that was in the vanguard of American imperialism in China.

John Foster, a one-time US Secretary of State, was Dulles' grandfather as well as his mentor in world-wide plotting. The old man in his "Diplomatic Memoirs of John Foster" boasts of how he helped dismember China and hand Taiwan over to the Japanese in 1895. At that time Foster went to China as the "advisor" to the Chinese peace delegation after the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War.

According to Dulles' grandfather, the chief Chinese delegate, Lord Li, was delaying in complying with the main Japanese peace demand—surrender of the rich island of Taiwan. In his memoirs he fondly recounts how he promptly told Li and his grandfather, Li Hung-chang, the Chinese imperial viceroy, that the island was to be transferred to the Japanese without delay.

However, the Chinese blocked the deal and Li said he couldn't transfer it because the Taiwanese on the island had revolted against prospects of Japanese rule. Li told old man Foster that the deal would have to wait because under Chinese custom it was necessary to transfer such property on the spot—and he dared not go ashore on Taiwan.

In his memoirs, Foster relates: "I told him (Li) that in the western nations it was common practice to transfer vast estates of great tracts of land from one owner to another by an instrument called a deed, and the title passed by the mere signing and delivering of the writing without visiting the land."

The Japanese were delighted and Foster says the deed was duly executed on the deck of a Japanese flagship in the harbor of the Taiwan port Tamsui, while the US advisor looked on.

Two years later, the young Dulles made his debut in international circles. At the phony peace congress at The Hague in 1907 the Chinese government was forced to accept two Americans as members of the Chinese delegation. One was grandfather Foster. The other was his 19-year old grandson, John Foster Dulles, who, though he could not speak a word of Chinese, served as secretary of the Chinese delegation which accepted the Japanese terms ending the Sino-Japanese war.

Big Money Ties With Nazis

DESPITE his early service to "American Destiny" in the Far East it was his big money connections with Europe that tied Dulles' own destiny with the ascending fascism of Adolf Hitler. Head of the Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, Dulles performed yeoman work in the union of Nazi and American cartels.

I. G. Farben, Hitler's industrial core which controlled 380 German firms and 500 companies in 93 countries throughout the world, used Dulles' law company to work out cartel agreements between US Steel, the Aluminum Corporation of America, the Dupont trusts and the Vereinigte Stahlwerke in the period before the Second World War.

Before America was at war with Germany, Dulles did not even trouble to mask his pro-fascist sympathies. In 1939, he represented Spanish dictator Franco in a US court over the recovery of US$10,000,000 in silver which had been purchased from the legal Republic of Spain. Later, before America got into the war with Hitler, Dulles defended an I. G. Farben official travelling in the US who had been exposed as a Nazi agent.

As the military and financial big-wigs unloosed their plan to rebuild Germany as a "bulwark against Communism" the figure of Dulles, heretofore lurking in the darker recesses of international fascism, came to the fore as an expert whose counsels the nation was sadly in need of.

* * *

Ties With the Church

PART of Dulles' sanctimonious garb is the claim made by himself and his friends that he is one of the leading Christian laymen of the world. In view of his unsavory past and present, this issue has come up in religious circles in America. As Dulles' machinations in

the rebuilding of Germany became bolder and more open, liberal churchmen in the US were stirred up. In October, 1947 an issue of "Social Questions," bulletin of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, called the tune on the corporation lawyer turned international strategist. The editor of this Methodist publication, Reverend Alson J. Smith, delivered himself a sermon in print which did not hesitate to call a Nazi sympathizer just that.

According to Smith, Dulles stands for, and urges upon both the US and the UN, a strong industrialized Germany which will be the hub of the west European economy in the hands of the same private industrialists and cartelists who rebuilt Germany after World War I and who abetted Hitler in the rearming of Germany.

"It may have been only a coincidence, of course," Smith says "that the firm had such close relations with the Schroeder Bank, I. G. Farben, the infamous German law firm of Albert and Westrick, etc., and that Mr. Dulles is listed as a director of the International Nickel Company of Canada, which in 1946 was sued by the US government for having a cartel price-fixing alliance with I. G. Farben and giving illegitimate aid to German rearmament . . . And of course there may be no significance at all to the fact that Allen Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles and also a member of the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell is one of the directors of the American subsidiary of the J. Henry Schroeder bank of London. This bank acted as financial agent for the Nazi government just prior to the war. . . ."

Summing up, Smith says that when one "hears John Foster Dulles, through the Federal Council of Churches, announce that the issue is 'a free world versus the police state,' he cannot help but wonder just what kind of a 'free world' Mr. Dulles is talking about.

Always Anti-Soviet

IN 1945, at the time of the formation of the United Nations organization in San Francisco, more of Dulles' "international" activities leaked out, although the greater part of the press failed to print it. Dulles was named by columnist Drew Pearson as having called in newspapermen at the San Francisco conference and fed them propaganda against Soviet Foreign Minister Molotoff.

However, Dulles' connections with official Americans who were looking for a war against the USSR date back even earlier. A *UP* Washington dispatch on May 18, 1946, refers to Dulles as one of those who "helped draft the plan for blockading Bolshevik Russia in 1919."

Right up to America's entry into World War II, although he received little public prominence, there was no doubt that John Foster Dulles was an isolationist and a reactionary who made no other pretence.

With the end of the Hitler regime in sight Dulles came out of his relative public obscurity to bask in the limelight as an "internationalist" and an "astute observer of foreign affairs" for the Republican Party. With this new role began a job of building him up by the press. The Luce publications, *Time* and *Life*, performed especially meritorious services in this respect. His membership in the Federal Council of Churches was blown up to make him a great moral leader as well as foreign expert. Together with Senator Vandenburg, Dulles became the chief designer of US bipartisan cold war policy which both the big money and brass want.

* * *

IN 1948, running for US senator in New York State, Dulles for the first time tipped his hand publicly to a large segment of the population. So violently reactionary were his campaign speeches that the people of New York handed him a resounding defeat.

Dulles' senatorial campaign plumped for blind reaction, with strong racial and religious overtones in a state where a melting pot of American citizens reside. He appealed to the forces of bigotry and made thinly veiled anti-Semitic speeches.

In one of his campaign speeches Dulles said: "If we don't do that here (defeat the Democratic Party's domestic program which pretended to support President Roosevelt's already dead and buried "New Deal") we will go down with the tide and we will have our children and grandchildren fighting their way back—a bloody way—against the all-powerful state. . . . The people still have it in their power peacefully to check this thing, but if we don't do it soon, we will have to fight our way back . . . through revolution."

At the very time Dulles sounded his clarion call to all Union Leaguers to rush to the barricades, the 11 leaders of the American Communist Party were being tried in New York for advocating forcible overthrow of the government, an accusation they denied.

Guarantees Rhee Aid

BY new the story is legion of how less than a week before the civil war in Korea broke out this "grand old man" of international cartelism just happened to be in Korea guaranteeing aid to the Rhee regime no matter what happened. Several days before the fighting started Dulles and American military men were photographed on the 38th Parallel looking north through binoculars with a large map spread out before them.

Despite his moral mouthings nothing is clearer than Dulles' archaic mentality. Under the guise of an evangelical mission Dulles has referred to Korea as "our moral salient." Using a biblical line he wrote about this unhappy land in the *New York Times* on July 30, 1950. From his lofty pulpit, beneath which runs the murky tide of a fascist philosophy, Dulles opens his article: "On June 25, 1950, darkness settled on the world. Only one thing was clear; that was the path of duty. Where it might lead us was obscure."

Of South Korea, Dulles wrote. "The Republic of Korea was a healthy society. . . . We talked with economic and business leaders, official and private, Korean and foreign. The economy of the country was rapidly improving under the impact of hard work. . . . Extensive land reforms were under way. . . ."

Apparently Dulles doesn't read the American papers, even conservative ones such as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald-Tribune* which insist he is a great leader. The correspondents of these two papers on numerous occasions have been unable to find any other name for South Korea but "police state."

As to Dulles' tale of economic improvement in South Korea, even the American press has printed countless stories of corruption and rotteness of the same variety which milked China dry under the Kuomintang.

When Dulles blandly states "extensive land reforms were under way" he lies outright. As American forces pushed on to Seoul and prepared to cross the 38th parallel, according to a *Reuter* story from Korea, the Rhee government was cautioned not to alienate the peasants who had received their own land from the North Koreans by bringing back conditions as existed in South Korea."

* * *

JOHN Foster Dulles has traveled a long way since his first official post at 19. But this "cartelist with a robber baron philosophy" has made his record for all the world to see and remember. No matter what high-sounding phrases he may make today, no matter how much the toadying American press glorifies him the facts are known. His is a philosophy stemming directly from his financial position in Wall Street; it is a philosophy, despite being wrapped in an American flag, which preaches America's "destiny" and looks down upon races which are not "pure Gentile;" and above all it is a philosophy which is part and parcel of those forces which are bent on driving America into the arms of fascism.

— *ALEC STOCK*

Tientsin's Model Nursery

As more and more day nurseries are established in this northern port city, emphasis shifts from quantity to quality. Ju Hsin Day Nursery aims to serve as model for others.

INDIVIDUAL child care on a mass basis is the visitor's impression at the Ju Hsin Day Nursery School in Tientsin. A private center founded in April 1949 with a view of releasing more mothers for productive activities outside the home, the school is an outstanding example of private energies directed toward public welfare.

With 140 children ranging in age from 18 months to seven years and a staff of 13 qualified teachers and attendants superintended by graduates of Yenching University's Sociology Department and Northwest University's Teachers College, the school maintains wide connections with various local hospitals, a child guidance clinic, and with education and home economics departments of several colleges from where students are sent for summer field work.

Tuition is 80 catties of millet per month and includes one meal and two supplementary feedings. Only children of working mothers or those with four or more small children at home are accepted.

A further entrance requirement is a certificate of BCG inoculation, which means that the child must have tested negative to tuberculin. In addition, the child must have passed a general physical examination. The health of staff and workers is, of course, checked most strictly.

* * *

OFFICIAL nursery hours are 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., but working hours of some cadre-mothers have necessitated extending the actual day from seven to seven. The schedule is a diversified day of games, learning facts, group singing and dancing, and stories.

A substantial balanced hot lunch is served at noon and milk, stewed fruit, pudding or cookies at 10:00 and 4:00. For these feedings the government helped out by allocating American milk powder, and ice-cream and pudding mixes taken over from the Kuomintang. A point is made of training the children to drink plenty of water which is offered four times during the day besides at the regular feeding periods. All food is prepared in the school on a non-commercial basis, the menus having been planned by the superintendent who has dietetic training.

After lunch all the children nap for two hours on beds that are convertible into wall blackboards, leaving space for other activities.

* * *

THE aim of this modern nursery is development of the child's appreciation of form and his inclination to build through working up materials with his own hands. Objects of study are reproduced in many types of materials—even the steamed bread is sometimes made into mechanical or other forms. The day the children had their train excursion between Tientsin's two stations the steamed bread appeared as locomotives.

Having been admitted in good physical condition, the children are looked after by a full-time nurse and a pediatrician who makes weekly visits. A sick child is sent to the hospital immediately. Arrangement has been made with a leading hospital to admit any emergency case without the usual procedures.

Teaching methods are based on freedom of expression upon direct handling of objects and materials. The carrot that may have been disliked for lunch may be made the subject of exciting stories about planting, tending, harvesting and transporting, or about the sparkling eyes and strong bodies its minerals and vitamins give children who eat it.

Play materials are ordered through the Peking Women's Federation which maintains contact with a handicrafts factory where toys are made to order from any design submitted.

Learning a new game

Thus the children work with objects of their teachers' own design.

Sliding down the stairs is not only not forbidden in this nursery, but slides are placed on each staircase saving a good deal of energy helping little ones down and providing fine indoor sport on rainy days.

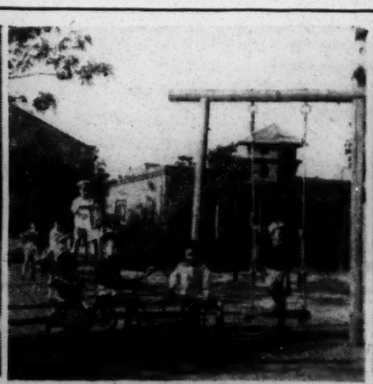
A feature of this school is that in addition to the nursery school curriculum, it offers first and second grade academic work combining the nursery school routine. This is probably a stopgap measure needed only so long as some private primary schools still continue the old Spartan routine of keeping six and seven year-olds in school from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. and sending them off with homework still to be done.

Another feature is the visiting barber who makes the rounds every two weeks and cuts the children's hair for a very nominal sum. Finger nails are kept trimmed and clean as part of the school routine. A few pairs of the youngests' pants will inevitably be seen hung out to dry.

Future plans are qualitative rather than quantitative. The directors feel that with the opening of more and more nursery schools in Tientsin the need is for a model, maintaining active affiliations with educational institutions and providing for cross exchange of experience and advice with all other nurseries.

— BETTY C. CHANG

In class . . .



on the playground . . .

"dressed up"

CHINA NOTES

Harnessing the Huai River

CHINA'S most urgent river control project is now under way. One of her great sorrows, the Huai River, is to be brought under control with the unfolding of a gigantic operation which will change the plight of millions of people who have constantly lived under the threat of flood.

The basic aim of this huge project, on which work has already begun, was outlined recently at a specially convened conference in Peking called by the Ministry of Water Conservancy. When completed, it will contain reservoirs in the upper reaches of the river, a completely new outlet to the sea, an end to the flood menace and large-scale irrigation and hydro-electric projects. Step by step, it will mitigate floods and provide steadily increasing areas of fertile, irrigated soil for millions of peasants.

The need for harnessing this rampaging river, which runs through the provinces of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsu, was re-emphasized by the fact that the Huai was the only big river to overflow this summer. Despite temporary projects by the government during the past year the river still broke its banks, inundating much land. However, in comparison with Kuomintang days, when nothing was done, this year's damage was small. Following the summer floods the situation was brought under control. Through the organization of rush draining and replanting, and the providing of large loans nearly 1,000,000 hectares have been replanted and the crop gathered.

The present Huai project will put an end to a scourge of centuries. The scope of the present plan can be seen by the mark set for 1951 alone, when water detention projects in the upper basin of the Huai will be completed and will contain 2,000,000,000 cubic meters of water. In the middle section of the river, dikes will have to be built or repaired and raised to the highest water levels ever encountered. The first stage of the operation, to provide a new outlet to the sea, will be completed in 1951 so as to be in use by the time of the flood season of 1952.

The Huai River project, number-one ranking river control operation, is still only one in a whole chain of similar projects to remould nature and put China's gigantic water resources into the service of the people.

* * *

Taiwan Tales

THE withdrawal of General MacArthur's military survey mission from Taiwan has been a recent cause for speculation. The State Department, apparently not in the confidence of the General, disclaimed any responsibility for the mission which was set up to make a survey of Chiang's military needs and then to recommend to the US Defense Department what was to be given outright and what was to be sold at a solid discount to the Kuomintang. However, as the MacArthur men made ready to leave, a *UP* story out of Taiwan, taking care to note that this action did not effect the patrol of Taiwan waters by the US Seventh Fleet nor the actions of the US Thirteenth Air Force liaison group on the island, reported that the far from leisurely departure of MacArthur's mission "could easily have stemmed from US State Department pressure to get SCAP uniforms out of Taiwan in the event a UN investigation commission visited the island to probe Russian and Chinese Red charges of 'American aggression' in Taiwan."

* * *

VICE-ADMIRAL Badger, who in early 1949 told a press conference of foreign correspondents in Shanghai that the US Navy did not consider Taiwan of strategic importance, has recently informed the American public through the Hearst *International News Service* that Taiwan is making an economic comeback with the assistance of the US. According to Badger, American cooperation and the policies of Chiang Kai-shek have been the main causes of the island's comeback and thus it is enjoying unusual prosperity.

Her Masters' Hand

Madame Chiang greets General MacArthur upon the latter's arrival in Taiwan to "inspect" the island's defenses.

Press reports from Taiwan give some idea of present prosperity on the US-Chiang island. A UP story from the capital, Taipeh, relates: "A high cost cost of living reminder: the price of one 16-ounce can of Australian butter is now 42 Taiwan dollars (US$4) coffee costs the equivalent of US$3 a pound, Coca Cola US$0.70, and cigarettes US$0.40 per pack." An AP story revealed that basic necessities, have also gone up. Comparing prices in October with June it showed that rice had risen 178 percent; peanut oil, 197 percent; charcoal, 450 percent.

At the same time, all apparently was not politically smooth on Taiwan. Reuter revealed that five alleged Communist spies, working in the railway administration, had been executed and 25 others imprisoned. "They were part of a well-organized ring, of which many members in recent week faced firing squads," an October 22 dispatch stated. Earlier in the month the *Agence France Presse* in Taiwan noted the execution of 14 "agents" in the space of three days. *Reuter* also reported the execution of two women Communist "spies" and the jailing of 32 others in mid-October. On November 9, it was officially announced in Taipeh that a woman and three men, charged with trying to overthrow the Chiang government, had been shot. This execution followed the shooting of nine alleged spies.

A New York Times correspondent, who passed through this KMT "bastion" noted an old-time Kuomintang condition. After covering some of the "benefits" of Governor Wu's administration, the correspondent remarked that "salaries are too small for officials to live on and the 'squeeze' will necessarily return in earnest." Referring to the "native Formosans," the Times' man posed a question: "How do they like the newcomers (Kuomintang)?" His answer was: "Hardly at all."

* * *

DANCING is verboten on this island "empire." Chiang Kai-shek and his wife are dead set against such doings and so Chiang's "anti-dancing police squads carry out raids throughout the island seeking 'dancing speakeasies.'" according to Reuter's Taipeh correspondent. However, an exception has been made and the port of Keelung has become the only place in Taiwan where public dancing is allowed. Governor K. C. Wu, who fled from his KMT mayor's post in Shanghai, has used his good offices so that "foreign visitors" (Americans) will be able to dance in Keelung. On the grounds that the port is of an international nature, Wu, who American correspondents glowingly refer to as Princeton-trained K. C. Wu, has seen to it that the various visitors passing through and stop-

ping over on Taiwan are able to dance without landing in jail.

* * *

Liberation of Tibet

FOLLOWING months of waiting for negotiations with representatives from Tibet, the Chinese government opened its campaign to liberate Tibet, last remaining part of the China mainland outside people's China.

A Tibetan delegation, on its way to Peking, had been in India for months, but because of obstacles and procrastinations by the British government, as in matters such as allowing the delegation to pass through Hongkong, it had been unable to get out of India.

Tibet is an integral part of China which, like many other countries, is a multi-national country and the Tibetans make up one of China's minority nationalities.

As the PLA marched into Tibet from the Southwest, an area with many national minorities, reports came of all-out support given to the PLA. In the provinces of Szechuen, Sikang, Kweichow and Yunnan preparations had been under way since early this year to provide the PLA with food and clothing to sustain it in its march across some of the world's most rugged terrain. Manifesting support of the PLA was the fact that the army received more applications for service in the march into Tibet from veterans than it could accept.

As had been the case with many of the KMT troops, the Tibetan armies were not convinced of their cause. The PLA campaign had hardly gotten under way when the commander of the Ninth Regiment of the Tibetan Army notified the PLA of his unit's desire to turn over.

* * *

REGARDING national minorities, the people's government policy is one of uniting them in one nation and at the same time actively supporting their national heritage and customs.

Included in the pledges made by the government was the statement that no changes would be made in the existing administrative and military systems. Tibetan troops will become a part of the national defense forces and all lamas, officials, and chieftains may remain at their present posts. The Tibetan's religious beliefs, as well as their traditional local customs, will be respected.

* * *

COMMENTING on the liberation campaign in Tibet the *Kuangming Daily* in Peking said: "It was originally the hope of the Central People's Government that the local authorities of Tibet would take action to bring about an early and peaceful settlement of the problem, in order to fulfill the hopes of the Chinese people. However . . . the American and British imperialists have been making energetic efforts to maintain their control of Tibet, so that it may be used as a continental base for an invasion of the new China. For this reason, our Central People's Government was obliged to take the necessary step of marching the PLA into Tibet with a view to restoring China's sovereign rights. . . ."

* * *

Volunteers for Korea

AS the Chinese see it opposition to American aggression in Korea is not only aid to an invaded country but it is a step in preventing a war from spreading across China's border. When the Japanese took over Korea 45 years ago it was eventually used as a base for invasion of China.

Early in November, following repeated air raids on China by American planes operating out of Korea, which numbered as many as 63 in a two-week period, people from all walks of life and from all over China began volunteering for service in Korea in order to aid the Korean people and to defend their own country.

Throughout China groups and individuals voiced their opinions of the need to take action against the invasion of Korea which saw American troops nearing China. Samples of letters written to newspapers throughout the country clearly illustrate what the people think.

A young Chinese worker wrote: "Like the just people of the world who supported the Spanish people in their fight against Franco, we must also rise up and smash the aggressors so as to put out the flames of the American imperialist war of aggression."

In Shanghai a bus company engineer stated: "During the time of the American war for independence, the French gave active support to the American revolutionaries. Now, the Korean people are fighting for their independence and liberty, and we have the obligation to organize a volunteer forces to go to Korea to help them."

In Mukden, a worker wrote: "The Koreans are our neighbors. To help them means to help ourselves. We Chinese people must act now to assist the Koreans in their just war. In Dairen, a girl student declared: "We will certainly go to the aid of our Korean friends. If need be, I will be the first to throw aside my pen for a gun."

A letter expressing the thoughts of 3,000 staff members of a railway shop in North China said: "Now we have just begun our peaceful reconstruction and a happy and prosperous new China is within sight. But America with frenzied intentions, hastened to invade Korea and, on the pretext of the 'Korean question' expanded its aggression to our borders."

* * *

CHINA'S different political parties issued a joint declaration in support of the campaign to "oppose American imperialism and help Korea." In Shanghai, on behalf of the city's 1,200,000 workers, the Shanghai General Labor Union stated that the declaration "completely conforms with the demand of the masses of Shanghai's workers and employees." In a statement the union declared: "Now that US imperialism has more clearly exposed its sinister countenance of disregarding the Yalu River borderline between China and Korea and wilfully violated our frontier, we profoundly realize that in order to protect our fatherland we must assist the Korean people."

* * *

News Brevities

MORE than 200,000 people in Hankow attended the first exhibition of industrial products manufactured in Wuhan, key commercial center in Central-South China. A total of 3,384 categories of articles were displayed as visiting groups of commercial, industrial, and peasant circles from the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Hopei, Kiangsi and Kwangtung witnessed this exhibition.

* * *

CHINA'S northern port of Tientsin has seen the development of private savings accounts by many people. Two years ago, under the KMT, nobody saved money. On the contrary with high-speed inflation, speculation and hoarding of foreign currency and supplies were the order of the day. The arrival of a stabilized currency has brought on the new trend.

* * *

SPEAKING to Hongkong newsmen on the attitude of the Chinese government towards Christianity, Bishop Ralph Ward declared that religious conditions in China "are better than before the Communists took over."

Ward, who is the head of the American Methodist Church in China also said that his mission was carrying on as usual with all schools and churches in operation. Arriving in Hongkong on November 17, Ward was on his way back to the US on a six-months' furlough.

French Face Defeat in Indo-China

After years of ruthless foreign oppression, the united Vietnam people are driving out their French masters. US aid can only delay the people's victory.

ON September 30, after weeks of careful preparation, French forces in northern Indo-China began a planned withdrawal from their fortified points along the China border. Long isolated by land and supplied only by air, and facing increasingly heavy attacks from the Vietnam People's Army, these outposts had become untenable.

In order to ensure the success of the withdrawal, the French went to elaborate lengths in planning the operation. First, they reinforced the garrisons by dropping paratroopers. Next, they dispatched a strong relief column of crack legionaires who were scheduled to rendezvous with the withdrawing column.

What happened during the ensuing 10 days has now become history and has convincingly demonstrated once again that time is fast running out for the foreign colonialists in Asia.

The withdrawing column was surrounded and wiped out in a several days running battle in the mountainous jungle. The relief column, after advancing a bare 20 kilometers, was also surrounded and wiped out. A third column, hastily assembled and sent to the rescue of the first two units, was also halted and defeated.

Momentous 10 Days

When the balance sheet for the first 10 days of October was drawn up, it showed that the Vietnam People's Army had killed, wounded and captured a total of 5,500 French troops and liberated three important fortified towns in northern Indo-China.

For the Vietnam people these were the most momentous 10 days since they had declared their independence of French rule and set up their own popular government five years ago. These victories marked the end of years of jungle hide-and-seek warfare by the outnumbered and outgunned VPA. The modern army which had long been training deep in the mountain forests had at last emerged and challenged the French on its own terms.

For the French these 10 days were also momentous. The defeat brought home in unmistakable terms the fact that France's colonial rule is closer to its end than had been suspected. While Indo-China has long been slipping out of France's grip, it has heretofore been a slow process with little day to day change. The French, who hold only the cities and surrounding areas—estimated at no more than 10 percent of the country's total area—were suddenly faced with the prospect of an early loss of the cities, too.

The VPA gave the shocked French no respite after these smashing victories and maintained the offensive. By the month's end, the French had lost eight more fortified posts in the north, while posts in central and even south Vietnam came under increasingly heavy pressure, with some being taken. Guerilla activities were also stepped up throughout the country.

French casualties, which for the past few years have been averaging about 1,000 men a month, rose sharply. In the month ending on October 13, the VPA inflicted—in killed, wounded and captured—a total of 10,000 casualties on the French forces and indications were that the rate would continue to go up in the months ahead.

Startled and scared, the French colonialists reacted in typical fashion. They did not inquire into the basic reasons for this seemingly sudden increase in the strength of the long-suffering people. They did not wonder if perhaps something was wrong with their own approach. They simply wailed that they didn't have enough men and guns and, by way of excuse, hinted darkly that China was responsible for their plight.

A top-ranking French strategist was flown in from Morocco, another French colony where the natives, although restive, are still under control, to "investigate" the situation. An emergency plea was made to Washington—the French defense minister went in person to beg for US help. Meanwhile, back home in France, the government scraped together a few more men and hastily shipped them off to the jungle death trap.

No Solution for French

However, none of these moves provides any solution. In fact, the present French government is incapable of finding a solution. This is being found by the people of Vietnam who have had their fill of French colonial rule and who, having learned the hard way that the only thing which the colonialists ever understand is force, are now in the process of liberating themselves by force of arms.

The seeds of the present situation were sown a long, long time ago. Actually, they were sown when the French originally subjugated the heredity feudal emperors of Indo-China and welded the area into one of Asia's richest colonies. While life for the native peoples in all colonies is scarcely distinguishable from slavery, life in Indo-China was the worst in Asia. The appetites of the foreign masters were—and still are—insatiable.

The French had not been in Indo-China long before periodic revolts against their authority became a standard feature of life. As the years passed, they became more frequent and found more support among the native peoples. As corruption and rot set in at home, the French became less able militarily to deal with the many subject races in Indo-China.

Japanese Move In

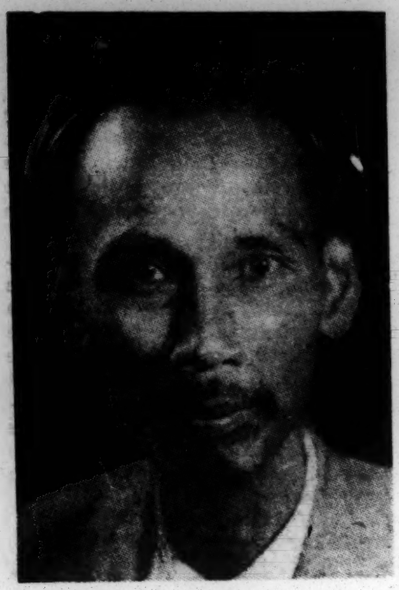
By the summer of 1941 the French were in such desperate straits, both at home where the German puppet regime of Petain and Laval ruled at Vichy, and abroad, that the Japanese simply moved in and took over. Weak and demoralized, the French colonial forces gave up without a fight.

Despite offers of help from the subject peoples, the French refused to form an alliance to resist the Japanese, obviously preferring to accept a junior partnership role with Japan than to risk arousing the people.

However, the Vietnamese, led by such patriots as Ho Chi-minh, now the president of the Vietnam Republic, and General Vo Nguyen Giap, now the commander of the country's armed forces, launched a resistance movement against the Japanese invaders.

By the time of Japan's surrender, the Vietnam liberation movement was sufficiently strong to stage nation-wide uprisings and to begin disarming the Japanese troops. By the time the first French colonial administrators arrived, the Vietnam people had their own organs of government. On September 2, 1945, the republic was officially inaugurated. However, this development displeased the French much more than had Japan's previous action of stealing the colony. Aided by British troops and naval forces, the French tried to move in and take over.

Finding themselves too weak to attempt the country's reconquest, they stalled for time and concluded an agreement with the republic, recognizing its independence as a self-governing state in Indo-China. However, as more and more British and French troops began to arrive, the French were not slow to provoke incidents and to find other pretexts for commencing hostilities against the new regime. As soon as they felt themselves sufficiently strong, the French tore up their agreements with the republic and launched a full scale war against the people.



President Ho Chi Minh

This is the war which the French are now about to lose.

Perhaps the best way to gain a clear picture of conditions in Indo-China and to understand why the people prefer their own rule to that of the French is to take a look at life in Free and Occupied Vietnam.

What is life like in the 10 percent of Vietnam still under French control? If you are a Frenchmen, it is pretty good, but if you are a native Vietnamese it is pretty awful.

As "proof" of their willingness to grant independence to the country, the French have set up a native government, headed by Bao Dai, the ex-emperor of Annam. Who is Bao Dai? According to Kingsbury Smith, foreign editor of the conservative American news agency *INS*, he is described in a top secret French government report as being: "intelligent . . . but he unquestionably has little courage and is sensual."

Of his colleagues, the official French government report continued: "Members of his entourage are ambitious and venal beyond all expression. These men wish power, and total power, not in the interests of the Vietnam people, but in order to exploit power in the old-fashioned manner; that is, in order to gain money by any means." This is how the French confidentially describe the men they have personally picked to head their native puppet regime in Indo-China!

Discussing the nature of Bao Dai's "government," the same writer says: However, certain limits on Vietnamese independence were imposed by the French government in its agreement with Bao Dai. For example, the French retained control of foreign policy, the military forces and key aspects of the economic life of the country."

So much for France's puppet "government" in Indo-China. For a picture of day to day conditions in those areas under the control of the French colonial administration we also have only to turn to the foreign newspapers and news agencies, sources which could hardly be termed pro-Vietnam. In a story describing how the Indo-China cement trust—controlled by one French firm for the past 51 years—is losing its markets in Asia to the Japanese, an *AP* correspondent reported from Haiphong on October 14 that the industry is operating at capacity. Although business is bad, the labor situation is quite "good," the correspondent notes.

"Some 3,500 Vietnamese and Chinese employees work under the supervision of 40 French supervisors and engineers. Labor disputes have not been a serious problem for the management because strikes are outlawed. . . . "

On the same day the same news agency disclosed that censorship in the country was complete.

"The censors did not allow even official announcements of recent Vietnam attacks and French withdrawals in the region of the China border. The news would destroy public confidence and perhaps cause rice prices to rise, it was reasoned."

50,000 German Mercenaries

An interesting picture of the French colonial army can also be gleaned from the papers of France's allies. Writing in the *Hongkong Standard* of September 26, Gary Wang reports that the backbone of the French army in Indo-China is composed of at least 40,000 ex-German soldiers. (Other reports have placed the figure at 50,000 or more). These Germans were formerly prisoners of war in French camps who were offered their freedom if they would join the Foreign Legion.

According to Wang, these German mercenaries are not at all happy about their job. They claim that the French tricked them into the Foreign Legion by "chicanery and propaganda while they were interned in French POW camps. . . . The main gripe of the Legion is against the way the High Command keeps French regular troops in positions of comparative safety, while the Legion and the Colonial [African] troops are kept all the year round, without relief, at the forefront of the fighting. . . It is said that while fighting, they do their best to disarm the natives, then allow them to buy their way out."

A look at the inner workings of the French Colonial command was provided by a French soldier, Private Pirlot, who was captured when the VPA took Dongkhe, a fortified post in the north. According to Pirlot, when the post was cut off from communication with other posts and was seriously menaced, Captain Allioux radioed to headquarters for help.

The headquarters' reply stated: "Today is Sunday. General Marchand is receiving visitors and there will be a dancing party tonight. So please wait." Captain Allioux, stated Pirlot, then shouted, "If General Marchand knows how to dance, I too know how to quit this damn post."

The whole question of prisoners of war throws additional interesting light on the way the French colonialists operate. Overlooking no opportunity for spreading anti-Vietnam propaganda, the French have persistently claimed that the VPA never takes prisoners, that it murders any hapless French soldiers who are captured alive.

A *UP* story from Saigon quoted French military officials as stating that it was "entirely possible" that the French garrison at Dongkhe was massacred to the last man. They said, *UP* continued, that if any prisoners were taken it was "for propaganda reasons only."

While French military officials were feeding such stuff to the news agencies, the very same officials were actually proceeding with regular exchange of prisoners between the French forces and the VPA. The *Associated Press*, for instance, reported from Hanoi on September 24 that French authorities on that day freed 59 prisoners, including 12 women. The action, *AP* said, was in return for a similar liberation of French prisoners by the VPA the previous week.

Despite their professed concern for prisoners captured by the VPA, it is evident that the French authorities are actually rather unconcerned over the fate of their own troop. Immediately following their victories in early October, the VPA found itself loaded down with large numbers of seriously wounded French soldiers who could not be adequately cared for in the jungle and who were in urgent need of medical attention. They therefore asked for an immediate local armistice and offered to allow French transport planes to fly in and evacuate the wounded.

Safe conduct was guaranteed the planes and airfields were designated. The French readily responded and for several days French transports flew into such cities as Caobang, evacuating wounded.

Hospital Planes and Bombers

In the midst of this situation, the colonial authorities broke the truce and began launching widespread aerial assaults against all Vietnam towns, including those recently lost and those to which hospital planes were making flights. Mercy ships and bombers were in the air at virtually the same time. On October 27, *AP* reported from Saigon that "France turned further today toward her air power . . . to plug the gaps in her

ground defenses. . . . Junkers *transports laboring as bombers* and King Cobra fighters teamed up in assaults. . . ."

When the aerial assault began the Vietnam government repeatedly broadcast warnings to the French identifying towns and even buildings which were being used as emergency hospitals for wounded French soldiers sill awaiting evacuation. However, the French colonialists paid no heed and continued their attacks. On November 1 it was revealed by the Vietnam News Agency that 67 wounded French prisoners, as well as 12 VPA soldiers and seven civilians caring for the French were killed when the French airforce bombed the Caobang Church.

However, a few days later when a French transport, this time being used as a hospital ship instead of a bomber, circled above a recently bombed Vietnam town, was mistakenly fired on by VPA antiaircraft guns, the French roared with anger. The press was called in and told that this was "evidence" that the Vietnam government refused to allow the French to carry out a "humanitarian" mission.

Connot Hide Facts

No matter how hard they try, though, the French colonial authorities cannot hide the fact that while they wantonly bomb their own wounded soldiers, the treatment afforded prisoners by the Vietnam government is in accordance with accepted international standards. Letters from French POWs tell of their life which, while not luxurious, is good in view of the austere conditions prevailing in bombed and blockaded Vietnam.

In accordance with government instructions issued when the fighting first broke out, regular prisoner settlements have been established in the jungles. Some are unguarded and exist much the same as do other Vietnam villages, with each household having a garden plot and with prisoners given the freedom of the surrounding countryside.

Perhaps the best recent account of conditions in the Vietnam People's Republic comes from Leo Figueres, a French newspaperman who recently toured the liberated areas and who was arrested upon his return to France for the crime of "interviewing" President Ho Chi Minh. Figueres, who is editor of *L'Avant-Garde*, reported that while before the war 90 percent of the population was illiterate, today there are several provinces in which the *entire* population has learned to read and write. Other reports place literacy figures at around 16,000,000 out of a population of approximately 22,000,000.

He also visited factories in the forests, reporting that he saw cotton mills, chemical factories, paper mills, etc. Some of them employed more than 1,000 workers. He was particularly impressed by the war industries which, built up from almost nothing, are now supplying the needs of the ever-growing VPA. Reports of other recent visitors stated that these factories have progressed from the manufacture of rifles and simple weapons to the stage where they now turn out machineguns and field pieces.

* * *

American Help

WITH events moving so rapidly in Vietnam, the French are faced with the problem of coming up with a new "solution," unless they are prepared to accept complete defeat in the very near future. Being confirmed colonialists, they are not expected to give up without a desperate struggle.

In former days they simply would have sent more troops. Today, however, they have all too few troops and, aside from the token forces scraped together and dispatched during the past few weeks, no other forces exist. In addition, France is nearly bankrupt and cannot afford even the steady drain which the colonial war in Indo-China has been enforcing, let alone the cost of a major military effort which is what it would now take.

Three years ago the war was estimated to be costing France the equivalent of US$1,000,000 per day, in addition to the sums extracted from the colony itself. Some estimates placed the total cost at more than the Marshall Plan aid supplied Paris by Washington. Regardless of the exact figure, the cost has been staggering and has been growing with each passing year.

Thus, it is clear that France, if left to her own resources, will simply have to get out of Indo-China and get out fast. However, all indications are that, after a four-year stall, the French are preparing to accept the terms demanded by the Truman administration as the price for all-out American aid. Once again the French are preparing to accept the role of "junior partner" in order to remain and gather a few more colonial crumbs.

As noted above, immediately following their recent serious reverses, the French appealed for American aid. Actually, they have been receiving US aid in one form or another ever since they began their colonial war. For a while it was indirect and took the form of Marshall Plan aid to France, which enabled the French to release funds for the Indo-China campaign. More recently it has been direct aid, straight to Indo-China.

However, this direct aid has been limited because of disagreements between the French and Americans. Naturally, the US government is demanding a voice in the administration of Indo-China—and a special position for American business—and just as naturally the French have been trying to hold such encroachments to a minimum.

America Moves In

At the present time the US has a diplomatic-political-economic - military mission of substantial proportions in the colony. The American staff in Saigon alone numbers approximately 200 and more are on the way.

So far US aid has taken the form of economic help, with some shipments of military equipment beginning to arrive in recent months. However, it has been announced in Washington that all forms of material aid are being expedited. The French expect substantial shipments of Amercian planes—with pilots—by the end of this year. Likewise, it is safe to predict that before long the aid will include American ground troops.

As a form of preparation, the French, aided by the American press, have done their best to make Indo-China appear an "international" problem.

The French now claim that if all they had to contend with were native "dissidents" and "troublemakers," they could handle the situation. However, they declare that it is impossible for the VPA to have become strong enough to challenge them without "outside" aid. Some correspondents have even been fed "background" stories claiming that Chinese troops have actually been fighting side by side with the Vietnamese soldiers.

However, neither intrigue nor force imported from America will change the outcome of the Vietnam people's struggle for independence. Once the people are united in opposing external aggression, nothing can prevent their eventual victory. China is standing proof of this fact. America's Korea experience should also serve as a warning to Truman and those of his followers who dream of world conquests.

—TAO WEI-LIEN

Chao Chan-kwei:

A New Type Official

Lung Men

A SPACIOUS courtyard was the locale of my interview with Chao Chan-kwei.

As I entered, from a distance, I saw two people bent over a book. They struck me as father and son, the father helping the son with his homework before the boy rushed off to school. I was convinced the father must be very fond of his son from the manner in which he, now and then, patted him on the back.

My escort told me that it was the elder of the two whom I wanted to see. After thanking him, I moved in the direction of the pair engrossed in study.

Early spring in Sian was more than chilly. I walked briskly over the ground which was still wet with the morning dew. Dawn was beginning to break.

As I came closer, I discovered that my first impression had been completely wrong. It was the boy who was the teacher, and the old man patted him on the back whenever he made the meaning of a Chinese character clear to him.

"Comrade Chao, Vice-director of Labor, aren't you?" I asked, as they looked up from their reading.

"Yes," replied the older man, offering his large, rough hand without rising.

"I'm the reporter from Peking who gave you a ring last night," I said by way of introduction. "I'm on my way to Paochi to watch the army project of extending the railroad to Lanchow. It's very kind of you to make yourself available so early in the morning, since I plan to leave here this afternoon."

Turning to the youngster, he said admiringly: "This is Hsiao Ma, our model messenger, fresh from junior high last summer. He has been helping me build up a larger vocabulary."

Chao Chan-kwei then closed his book and asked me to sit down beside him as Hsiao Ma took his leave.

For the next two hours, I remained a passive interviewer, but a very attentive listener. When Chao had finished his talk I asked him whether he would take me to the school and the cooperative which he had helped set up. He nodded his consent.

* * *

AS soon as we entered one of the classrooms, pandemonium broke loose. All the students jumped up from their seats, competing with each other to get close to the director. They kept shouting, "Uncle Chao! Uncle Chao!"

Chao Chan-kwei was openly pleased. He called each of them affectionately by their first name. He asked one student some questions, stroked the head of another, and kneeled down to dust off the soiled uniform of a third.

When the head of the school learned of our visit, she hastened to greet us. Before reluctantly leaving the classroom, Chao advised the students to return to their studies. He promised to come and see them again as soon as he had some time.

On our inspection tour of the campus the head of the school, who conducted us, told me the following story.

The school was founded for the dependents of the workers in the nearby arsenal, not long after the liberation of Sian on May 20, 1949. It was a time when a vast area of Northwest China was still in the grip of the Kuomintang reactionaries. The westward advance of the First Field Army of the PLA, under General Peng Teh-huai, was the order of the day. Therefore, when Chao proposed to set up the school, he was advised by many of his colleagues to wait.

It was at one of the meetings that he told his comrades: "The munitions workers here are working overtime for the liberation war. But their children are unable to get any schooling because there are no schools in this part of the city which is inhabited by the exploited working people. Perhaps some of you at this meeting do not consider it a serious matter that the kids will have to loaf for one or two terms. I can't agree with this. For those of you who don't know what it means to be illiterate I'll tell you about myself.

"Until the summer of 1938, when I went to the workers' school in Yenan, I was an illiterate foundryman for 42 years. As people used to say, I was a person with eyes but who could not see. It was miserable enough then. But not until I learned how to read and write did I understand even more the joys of a cultured life and the wretchedness of being a literary blindman.

"Unfortunately, we could not do anything under the rule of obscurantism, either in the days of the Manchus or the Kuomintang. But in the era of Mao Tse-tung, there is much we can do. We simply cannot allow our next generation to go without schooling, be it all their lives or for only a few months.

"As to the financial and physical difficulties for such a project, we must and can overcome them!" Chao concluded.

The head of the school then told how Chao, in a one-man campaign, had built the school from nothing. He had to get everything ready — desks, benches, a blackboard, and what not. Two months later, in July, the school opened on schedule.

"Since then," she said, "the school has made substantial improvement under Comrade Chao's care. But we are not at all satisfied with its present material condition. You can see for yourself. These mud houses, the crude furniture, the rough playground, that room with only a few shelves of books we call a library. . . . But there is one thing we all are extremely proud of. Inspired by the living example of Comrade Chao, who up to today is still eagerly learning from everything available, the students have all been diligent in their search for knowledge. . . ."

"Comrade school master," interrupted Chao Chan-kwei, "we'll have an imposing school building equipped with modern conveniences in the nearest future. We must have it. All of us are working for it."

* * *

CHAO was greeted with the same rousing response when we visited a shoemaking cooperative a few blocks from the school. It was here that the cooperative executive told me that the membership had grown 10 times in the course of eight months. Daily output was now 500 pairs of shoes as against 30 pairs when the cooperative started operations in August, 1949.

I was quite impressed by these figures and wondered how it was possible in such a relatively short time.

The executive replied that it was possible "because we have followed Director Chao on such matters as democratic management, a representative council, labor discipline, the raising of productive enthusiasm, pay according to work done, technical improvements and many other innovations."

She told me of the rather unusual beginning of this cooperative. A group of shoemakers, who were unemployed on the eve of Sian's liberation, hastened to ask Chao for his help upon hearing that this well-known labor hero was in the city shortly after liberation. He immediately became the organizer and supporter of the cooperative, its motivating force and guiding spirit. On the day of its inauguration, Chao was called upon to deliver a speech to members of the new cooperative.

In the course of his speech Chao told the members, "We are strangers. I came from Yenan, and you were workers in a former Kuomintang-controlled area. Yet, in one sense, we are old friends. Aren't we all members of the working class? Just as I believe in the working class, so do I believe in you. This is why I secured the first order from the army for you, and moreover acted as your guarantor for that order. . . . I hope that you will not fail the working class and me."

The members lived up to Chao's expectations. They have been working hard ever since the cooperative's inception and their organization is regarded as a model both in management and production.

* * *

BORN in Shansi province in 1896, Chao Chan-kwei is now 54 years old. The turning point in his life came in the summer of 1938, when as an experienced foundryman he made the journey to the Communist capital in Yenan after having been driven from his home by the invading Japanese. For him, Yenan became his first real home, he often told his comrades in that city.

Following his arrival, after a short period of study, Chao was admitted as a member of the Chinese Communist Party in December of the same year. He then went to work as a foundryman in the newly-established farm implement plant in 1939.

Leaving 42 years of poverty and starvation behind, Chao Chan-kwei began a new life in Yenan. It was in the atmosphere of this capital that his latent qualities were developed. Many of his comrades recall his willingness to work overtime in front of a melting furnace at a temperature of 2,000 degrees Centigrade all year around. Despite the wartime physical hardships, Chao carried on without complaint and served as an example of what a Party man should be, those who knew him have related.

During all the years in Yenan he carried out his assignments and passed on his skill and knowledge to many apprentices. One of his chief feats was accomplished after the outbreak of the nation-wide civil war in 1946. It was then that Chao organized the workers to turn out large quantities of land mines, which were in great demand by the PLA. In the face of the 1947 KMT onslaught into the Shansi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, Chao successfully carried out the operation of conducting the dependents of workers to safety.

In 1943, Chao was elected Special Labor Hero, and a campaign was launched among the workers all over the Liberated Areas to emulate him. Since then he has been hailed as a model for thousands of workers. Despite this fame he has not let it go to his head and has continued as humble as ever before. In 1948, Chao was chosen as a delegate to the Sixth Labor Congress held in Harbin. Following this meeting, he was assigned to set up a trade union for the munition workers in the Northwest. A year later, in 1949, he attended the People's Political Consultative Conference. This year he was elected to the National Committee of the PPCC, and is now serving as Vice-director of Labor in the Northwest Military and Administrative Council.

* * *

THE train sped across the loess plain, heading for Paochi, the terminus of the western section of the Lunghai Railway. As far as I could see, spring wheat was waving in the breeze. New factory chimneys belched smoke in the small towns along the railway.

I thought of Chao Chan-kwei. In him, I saw the birth of a new type of Chinese, many of whom have already emerged in factories and on the farms, in the barracks and on the battlefield, in the laboratories and on construction projects, in government offices, at the foot of the snow-capped Changpai Mountains in Manchuria, on the paddy fields of sub-tropical Kwangtung province . . . throughout the length and breadth of China.

New Postal Service

James C. Rip

AN old peasant pointing to an envelope in his hand asked a policeman in Peking, "Sir, will you tell me where I can find this place?"

"It's not a place, it's only a letter box number. You'd better go to the Postoffice. Perhaps they can help you."

The old man was somewhat dazed when he got inside the large building of the Head Postoffice. There were so many people. He was wondering who could help him when he heard the announcement over the loudspeaker that anyone having problems may go to the information counter.

He went up to the young man at the semi-circular counter and told him that his son joined the army many years ago and since no letter had come from him the family thought he was dead. But a few days ago he received a letter from Peking. And handing the clerk the envelope, he said anxiously, "Please tell me where he is. I have come from Shantung to see him. If you aren't able to tell me, I'll follow your postmen to my son."

"No, old friend, that will not be necessary," the postal clerk replied politely. "But we will help you. You just buy an envelope and a sheet of paper which we sell here and I'll write to your son in your name and he will come to see you."

The letter was written and the farmer fumbled in his pocket for money. "How much should I pay?"

"Nothing," was the answer. "It's our new service, old friend. We charge nothing for writing letters."

A few days later the peasant returned to the Postoffice to thank the clerk and to tell him he had met his son.

This is one of the many cases in which the People's Postoffice is helping illiterates in its new letter-writing service.

* * *

THE difficult Chinese characters have caused great hardships to the common people. Even if they can read a little, they still find it very hard to write letters. In the past a letter addressed to or from one's home was often referred to as "wan chin chia shu" (family letter worth ten thousand ounces of gold).

In war time there were many cases when a son joined the army and neither he nor his parents were able to write letters to each other, and it was often difficult to find someone to write letters for them.

In order to improve the service for the people, the Peking Postoffice introduced its letter writing department in April, 1950. Rickshaw pullers, peasants, peddlers and soldiers all come in to have forms filled out or letters written.

Before this service was started, there was a great deal of discussion among the postal workers, many of whom were skeptical about it, for according to the old Chinese Postoffice regulations and the traditional postal practice, postal clerks were forbidden to write anything for the customers for fear that if any mistakes or misunderstandings arose from the letters, the Postoffice would be held responsible. But the new Postoffice went ahead despite this.

Undoubtedly this service will grow, but there are still many difficulties to overcome. For example, help in letter writing is urgently needed in villages and the countryside but the Postoffice is unable to transfer workers to help in this way because of lack of personnel and finances. Gradually, though, these problems will be solved and the Postoffice will find more ways of serving the people.

WHY THE GOVERNMENT TOOK OVER FU JEN UNIVERSITY

DUNCAN C. LEE

On October 12 the Ministry of Education announced that it had taken over the responsibility for financing and maintaining Fu Jen University, a well-known foreign Catholic school in Peking. The reason for this action was because the foreign Catholic fathers in Peking, who controlled the school's purse strings, had refused to meet any further running expenses. Actually, the fathers had held up funds since last August when a dispute developed between the fathers on the one hand and the students and faculty on the other, with the result that the university was facing closure. In the accompanying article Review correspondent Duncan Lee gives the background of the incident and the details of what actually happened. His on-the-spot report should prove particularly valuable for readers abroad in view of the startling headlines, such as "Red Drive on Religion Seen" and "Communists Grab Foreign School," which have appeared in various foreign press agency accounts of the incident.—Editor.

THE October take-over of Catholic Fu Jen University by the government's Ministry of Education is seen in Peking as a telling blow against those elements in the Church who had attempted to bring the university to a standstill and an eventual close-down. The main issue in the case of this long-established Peking Catholic school was whether or not a small minority of foreign churchmen could continue to dictate school policy in return for financial support. As has since been seen, following the government's action which enabled Fu Jen to continue functioning, the issue had nothing to do with religion.

Fu Jen University was formally established in 1926 with a foreigner as its chancellor and Mr. Chen Yuan, present chancellor, as vice-chancellor. In 1929, Chen Yuan became chancellor. Today Fu Jen is made up of three colleges and is divided into 12 sections. It's personnel, faculty, students and workers, total nearly 3,500, including one high school which is directed by the university.

Financed by Catholic Mission

For the past 25 years this well-known university has been largely financed by the Catholic Mission in Peking. This means that the administration continued to be in the hands of foreigners and its faculty and personnel were appointed by the Mission. Though a Chinese served as chancellor, up until liberation, he was a mere figure head.

During the Sino-Japanese war the Mission introduced a Japanese general secretary and the university, unlike many other church schools which moved to free China or closed, carried on, serving, incidentally, as a hiding place for Nazi elements. Under the KMT, progressive students and professors were persecuted by the authorities who worked closely with the foreign fathers. Following liberation, as the political consciousness of both students and faculty rose the Catholic Church did its best to obstruct both political activities and improvement in methods of education.

Last year, after the liberation of Peking, the Church reduced its annual US$220,000 grant to the university to US$160,000. This year the Church representatives not only announced a further slash but tied strings to the money which the school refused to accept. A look at the terms laid down by the Church's American representative, Harold W. Rigney, speaks for the utter ignorance or disregard which the church had for present conditions in China. Instead, the outlook was one which imagined the China of 25 years ago when foreign words and money usually were enough to bring about complete subservience. Rigney's demands included the following:

1) A new board of trustees to be appointed by the Catholic Mission. 2) The Mission should have the power of veto through its representative with regard to employment of university personnel. 3) The Fu Jen High School had to be self-sufficient. 4) The Bible Society must be retained and nobody was to interfere with it. 5) The annual grant was to be cut to US$144,000, and was to be made conditional upon complete acceptance of the other terms.

In July of this year, Rigney demanded that five politically active professors be discharged. Actions such as this, which were out and out infringements on the university's powers of administration as well as violations of China's educational regulations, succeeded in arousing both faculty members and students of the school.

When their arbitrary demands were not met, the Catholic authorities cut off funds as of August, and in order to continue the university and its associated schools the Ministry of Education began giving financial aid. This move enabled the more than 3,000 students and personnel to continue as before.

Catholic Mission Retaliates

The quick and effective government action combined with the fact that the Church's demands were not complied with despite the threat of discontinuing subsidies resulted in retaliation by the Catholic Mission. This took the form of provacative handbills and manifestos to the students, faculty members and workers, aimed at instigating trouble for the university administration, and the spreading of rumors to the effect that the five progressive professors would be beaten up, and that a new board of trustees would be formed and the present chancellor would be dismissed, etc.

It was after the mission indulged in such behavior that Rigney was invited to talk with Minister of Education Ma Shu-lun late in September. In the course of their talk Ma told Rigney that the Church had no right to interfere in the administration of Fu Jen University. Among the points made by Minister Ma are the following:

1) Foreigners residing in foreign countries are generally not even allowed to establish educational institutions except for educating their own nationals.

2) However, inasmuch as missionary schools and universities have had a long history in China they are being allowed to continue as long as they observe the stipulations contained in the government's Common Program. The government, however, reserves the right to take them over if necessary. No such new schools or institutions will be permitted in the future.

3) Religion and education are two distinct and separate matters and they should not be confused and misinterpreted. The Catholic Mission is not to interfere with the administration of the university. No religious services and Bible classes are allowed in the classrooms.

4) Religious courses are admitted in higher missionary educational institutes but they are definitely non-compulsory. Students are free to choose their courses without compulsion or inducement.

5) Freedom of belief is acceptable, but disbelief and criticism of religion also is one's freedom and should not be taken as an act of anti-religion.

6) That all schools and universities in China have political courses is China's educational policy. Politics is a science which holds views different from religion. This does not mean political classes are anti-religious. It is China's educational policy to conduct political classes and to ensure the freedom of religion.

7) Regarding the employment of the five professors, this is within the power of the university's administration. If they are not competent the administration will discharge them. If they teach satisfactorily, the government will guarantee them their positions. If they are Catholics and commit actions of disbelief, criticism or acts which are anti-religious the Mission may apply Church discipline. However, such discipline should not overlap powers of the university administration and affect the jobs of the five professors.

In concluding his talk with Rigney Minister Ma warned him that if driven to the extreme the government would be forced to take over the school. Five days later, on September 30, Rigney informed the minister that he had received cabled instructions from his highest ecclesiastical superiors which read: "Because of conditions cabled September 26, subsidies definitely discontinued. Unless conditions essentially changed, Church upholds its decision even should you and all fathers request reconsideration."

On October 12 the Ministry of Education formally took over Fu Jen University and Chen Yuan was appointed chancellor. At the same time Minister Ma made it known that the incident was a matter of educational administration, having nothing to do with religion. He emphasized the point that no measures would be taken against non-compulsory religion courses, the Catholic staff, professors, students and workers.

Chancellor Chen Yuan, commenting on the incident, said that it arose from the fact that these particular foreigners of the Catholic Mission were ignorant of the fundamental change in China which has taken place since liberation and are unwilling to cooperate with the new government now that they have lost their former privileges. They still believe that money makes them completely armed, he said. The chancellor made it clear that it was not the government which wanted to take over the university but that the Catholics abandoned it. If the government had not stepped in the school would have been compelled to close.

"I am a man of over 70 and an old friend of the Catholics. Usually an old man is patient and ready to cooperate and tolerate but the present case made me lose my patience," commented the Fu Jen chancellor.

Hsu Hsi-teh, a worker in the university, who has been a Catholic for more than 32 years, in commenting on the take-over of Fu Jen University stated: "The Church authorities cut off the school funds but the government stepped in with assistance. All of us are very grateful and happy." He then advised believers and non-believers of Catholicism to work hand in hand for a new and better university.

The incident at Fu Jen University speaks for itself. As in other fields the government has dealt fairly, and has made its decision according to the law of the land. While it may be difficult for certain foreigners, steeped in the traditions of a bygone era in China, to readjust their attitudes, the fact remains that there is a new China and if these people want to live in it they must realize that the privileges and prerogatives of the past have been done away with.

US Press Prepares for War

ONE of the by-products of the Truman administration's reckless plunge along the path leading to war has been the steady campaign to subvert the nation's press in order to turn it into a disciplined tool of the dominant war party.

A recent example of the success of this campaign is found in the September 23 issue of *Collier's*, a popular, mass-circulation weekly magazine. While it is no longer startling to note incidents of the press prostituting itself by hastening to support or apologize for the adventurism of those who plan for the "American Century," this article has special significance.

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ITS aim is to explain away and obtain popular approval, or at least acquiescence, for a brutality which is almost beyond belief. Written by one Captain Walter Karig, a reserve US Naval officer, the article, it is claimed, does "not *necessarily* reflect any policies or opinions of the US Navy."

The tone of Captain Karig's article is set in the opening paragraph:

> **The young pilot drained his cup of coffee and said: "Hell's fire, you can't shoot people when they stand there waving at you."**
>
> **"Shoot 'em," he was told firmly. "They're troops."**
>
> **"But hell, they've all got on these white pajama things and they're straggling down the road in little bunches of five and six pushing little handcarts full of bedding and stuff."**
>
> **"Heading which way?"**
>
> **"South, mainly."**
>
> **"See any women or children?"**
>
> **"Women? I wouldn't know. The women wear pants, too, don't they? But no kids, no, sir."**
>
> **"They're troops. Shoot 'em."**
>
> **"But when you come over they stand there and wave. . . . ."**
>
> **"Shoot 'em."**

This, Captain Karig says, was how a young US Marine pilot learned his first lesson about the "unorthodox" war in Korea.

Gradually, Captain Karig builds up a picture of a fanatical almost sub-human type of people so that his readers will not be too shocked when he reveals a little—but just a little—of what the American troops have been doing in Korea.

Continuing on the subject of strafing people walking on the roads, he writes:

"Well schooled by some master of American psychology—probably not Korean—in the traditional sportsmanship of the United States military man, the disguised invaders never took cover when American airplanes zoomed overhead. They waved and cheered at the pilots like lost men welcoming rescuers. Even when our aviators reluctantly strafed such groups, a combination of iron discipline and Oriental fatalism prevailed; they did not run for cover, as any civilians, sensible or not, would do. They squatted where they stood, heads bowed, until the spitting plane had passed, and then, kicking their

dead into the bordering rice paddy, trudged southward again."

It is, of course, difficult to imagine human beings, whether "sensible or not," behaving in such a preposterous fashion. But then, Captain Karig hastens to assure his readers that after all the Koreans are not like the ordinary run of people. Of the South Koreans, who are called peace-loving defenders of true democracy and who are embraced as allies by the Truman Administration, Captain Karig also has a few words.

". . . a peasant people uncomprehending the issues at stake. The average South Korean's major interest was and is in the contents of his rice bowl, not in politics except as it affects taxation. If he has ever heard of the United Nations, he probably confuses it with the United States, a misconception the communists further, and accentuate, and which the Americans helplessly aggravate by being compelled to bomb South Korean villages and industries taken over by the Reds."

Bombing Schools and Hospitals

Ever since the intervention began, the Korean people have been complaining about American planes bombing and strafing schools, hospitals and other such "targets." It would seem that these complaints have had some effect upon the American people because Captain Karig, in much the same way in which he justifies the shooting of refugees on the roads, tries to "explain" why it is "necessary" to bomb all schools. He seems less concerned over making the admission that schools *are* being deliberately bombed, than he is in telling his readers why it is done.

He says: "Whoever designed the standard Korean schoolhouse, as precisely stylized and conspicious as the village churches of New England, also did the invaders a tremendous service until our fliers learned to smother their instinctive abhorrence to bombing playgrounds.

"The Korean school is always built in the shape of an attenuated H, flanked by a tree-bordered playground and with ornamental (or maybe symbolical) shrubbery planted at its base. The shubbery was high and dense enough to conceal an armored jeep; tanks and trucks were parked in the rows of trees, which were stripped of branches to cover the vehicles—and the crews slept as well as ever they did in their lives on the schoolhouse floor. . . . .

"But the camouflage does more than conceal troops and tanks. It conceals the communists' treachery toward civilization as we define it, for by pictures, pamphlets and radio they are spreading the propaganda throughout Asia that the 'imperialistic American invaders' are slaughtering civilians and making schools their special targets. . ."

Discussing the wholesale destruction of villages from the air, Captain Karig again resorts to quoting a conversation with an unwilling and "confused" pilot who has not yet been put straight on the fact that the Koreans are a sort of special class of human beings toward whom the niceties of sparing women and children are not in order.

"When I got to the target, all the women were doing their washing and hanging it up, and the streets were full of kids playing," he groaned. "How in hell could I drop napalm on a target like that?"

Napalm, Captain Karig tells his readers, is at all odds the most effective and most terrible of incendiaries. It is a jelly-like substance which spatters when its bomb-casing breaks, flaring into instant flame at 2,000 degrees.

By way of excusing these unhappy pilots for the death and destruction they cause in such raids, Captain Karig explains the "'true" state of affairs in such villages:

"By all rules of reason and warfare both, that village should have been abandoned by its inhabitants. Instead, they were all out in the streets, and almost certainly because their homes were filled to the doorjambs with communist troops. Very likely, too, that the housewives' industry in the laundering and waving to the airplane was stimulated by rifle muzzles pointed their way. . . ."

Despite the fact that this article was written in the early days of the Korean intervention when US troops were retreating steadily and had yet to reoccupy any lost ground, Captain Karig, or his headquarters' informants, would seem to be surprisingly well informed as to what went on behind the North Korean lines.

Turning to a more reflective mood, Captain Karig draws a few conclusions from the Korean intervention. "If this is the beginning of the Armageddon between communism and democracy," he says, the American people must be prepared for a whole string of Koreas in other parts of the world. Indo-China, Malaya, the Near East and the Balkans are some of the places he thinks it may be necessary for the US to begin dropping napalm bombs on villages.

Unfortunately, he adds, the path of the US in these Koreas is certain to be difficult. "Wherever they go, whatever language they speak, whatever lands they occupy, the Red soldiers come as the People's Liberation Army, and as a result their road is smoother and wider."

Thus Captain Karig prepares his readers for the fact that if and when Truman sends troops to Indo-China, to Malaya, to the Near East (to protect America's oil investments, he notes) or to the Balkans, they will not be welcomed by the people. If such comes to pass, no doubt Captain Karig will be on hand to justify the burning, bombing and shooting of Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Arab and European civilians on the grounds that they are second class human beings. He will undoubtedly be able to describe them as so devoid of civilized qualities that reluctant, peace-loving Americans will once again be "forced" to cross continents and oceans thousands of miles from home in an attempt to bomb and burn and beat a little civilization into them.

* * *

Reminiscent of Nazi Technique

THIS article is a rather crude attempt to present foreigners— in this case the peoples of Asia—as a sub-human species against whom it is both necessary and proper to practice all the barbarities which modern science has made available to the war party.

It is reminiscent of the techniques used by Hitler when he began to prepare the German people for his wars of conquest. The similarities are entirely too numerous for anyone to have doubts as to where the war party is attempting to lead America.

However, such a course is not inevitable. It can be stopped if the American people sufficiently will for it to stop. The press, as the most important public opinion media, has a duty to give the people honest information rather than the criminally misleading propaganda contained in this article. While admittedly under heavy pressure, the American press is not yet controlled in an official sense of the word. It is still possible for American editors and publishers and writers to make a strenuous effort to tell the American people the truth.

It is naturally easier to drift along with events. However, if those Americans who are in a position to know better do not take their stand now, the odds on the analogy between Hitler's Germany and Truman's America being played out to its tragic end will be immeasurably strengthened.

And this time the end will be quicker and more drastic because today's world is not the same world of a decade ago. Today's people are far from passive. The people want peace and an overwhelming majority of them know that peace is possible. They will not deal lightly with the launchers of a new attempt at world conquest.

If war comes, so will the day of reckoning. On that day not only will the actual instigators be called to account, but the "go-alongers" will also have to answer to the people of the world. While the readers of *Collier's* may plead ignorance, may claim that they were misled, writers such as Captain Karig will not be able to do so—and neither will the editors who have allowed their columns to be used for the perpetration of deliberate falsehoods designed to mislead the American people.

Chinese Christians' New Task

National Christian Council Conference sees Christians uniting to work for independence of the Church. The goal is self-government, self-propagation and self-support.

THE National Christian Council of China came into existence 28 years ago. Every two years it calls a national gathering to discuss the work of the Council and to elect its executive committee and officers. This is the 14th Biennial Meeting, but the first one held since liberation.

Truly, it has been a historical gathering, differing in many important aspects from similar gatherings in the past, marking a new epoch in the history of the Christian movement in China. This is as it should be.

Reformation Needed

From the very first day of liberation, and for many, even prior to liberation, Chinese Christians have come to the realization that all is not well within the Church, that the Chinese Church is facing an unprecedented challenge. It must throw away its cloak of self-righteousness and self-complacency, must pry deeply into its own life to separate the gold from the dross, must have a re-birth and reformation, and must extricate itself from its past incumbrances and time-worn habits of thought and ways of life. Then it may truly fit in with the temper of the new era, march in step with the rest of the nation, and play its role in national reconstruction.

For almost a year, the slogan of "Church Reform" has been echoed and re-echoed from the rank and file of Christians all over the country, and has been the topic of discussion among many Christian groups.

While the NCC Biennial Meeting is not strictly the national Christian conference originally planned, it does, nevertheless, reflect the general trend of Christian thinking, and gives expression to what has happened and what is going to happen in the life of the Christian Church in China.

Firstly, this meeting was historical because it is the first meeting that has been planned, and conducted entirely by Chinese Christians. It is not because of any deliberate disregard of the ecumenical nature of the Christian faith and fellowship, certainly not because of any feeling of anti-foreignism, but rather to give articulate and no uncertain expression to the conviction that the Chinese Church must be indigenous in character, that only Chinese delegates attended the conference.

To some, this might have appeared regrettable, but to by far the majority, it has been a distinct gain.

As a typical contrast between the meetings of the past and this last meeting, one of the delegates from the Northwest said that in the past we ate foreign food, listened to many speeches in a foreign language, and read some foreign printed material, but this time, everything was in Chinese. Being a person speaking no foreign language and unused to foreign ways, he formerly felt rather out of place in the meeting, knew very little of what was going on, and could not make any contribution to the discussions. To him, the conferences were largely a waste of time and money. This time, he felt quite at home with everything that went on. To him, it was the dawn of a new day.

DR. Y. C. TU is General Secretary of the National Committee of the Chinese YMCA. Long active in educational and Christian work Dr. Tu was formerly head of the Physics Department at the University of Shanghai and was later president of St. John's University in Shanghai. The National Christian Council, which is the central organization of some 70 percent of the Protestant churches in China, is a coordinating body engaged in promoting Christian activities among its member churches.—Editor.

Wide Representation

Secondly, never before has there been such a wide representation. Although the total number of persons attending the conference was not more than 150, it covered all the geographical areas and all the denominational groups. People from as far as Antung, Sian, Chengtu and Kunming came to the conference.

On the one hand, it showed how rapidly transportation facilities have been restored within the short period since liberation. Otherwise, it would have been extremely difficult for people from these far-away places to attend.

On the other hand, it showed with what eagerness Christians all over the land had been waiting for an opportunity to discuss the fundamental issue facing the church in the new era.

People of different denominations, some of which differ by rather wide margins, groups that never would have participated in such a conference in the past, seemed to have laid aside all these differences and came together as brothers and sisters in the same common fundamental faith to discuss problems that were common to all.

Throughout all the sessions of the conference, never once did denominational differences creep in to interfere with the genuine unity of purpose and will.

Democratic Spirit

Thirdly, there was manifest a good measure of the spirit of the new democracy, i.e. the spirit of "democratic consultations." The method of holding plenary sessions and small group discussions is by no means new, a method practiced for many years in the past. But, somehow, within this skeleton of formalism, there appeared a more genuine willingness to listen to and to accept the other fellow's point of view, to incorporate all constructive suggestions.

There was no definite set objective to be railroaded through. All the prepared materials were held as tentative. Resolutions did not originate from a small group, but came spontaneously from the small group discussions. Final resolutions were brought forward after joint consultations of representatives from all the groups, thus ensuring the inclusion of all the important opinions expressed.

Fourthly, instead of looking back to the glories of the past, with a feeling of pride and complacency, the conference was filled with an atmosphere of humility and self-criticism. In taking stock of the overall picture of Christian enterprise in China, no one denied that Christianity has made some notable contributions to Chinese society, but these were not given much emphasis. Neither did the conference dwell too much on the difficulties experienced at the present time.

On the contrary, every one had his or her thought focussed on the necessary and fundamental changes which must be effected within the church before it can make any effective contribution in the future, before these difficulties can be overcome.

There was a wide-felt conviction that it is not the fundamental faith in Jesus Christ that is at stake, nor the theological and organizational differences that demand immediate conciliation, but rather it is the inward life of the church that needs to be rejuvenated, the waste that needs to be eliminated, the social service activities such as education and medical work that need to be integrated with the total national policy, and above all, the indigenous

nature of the movement that must be speedily achieved.

In short, with due regard to what good the missionary movement has brought into China, the conference has examined and brought to the fore the unfortunate incumbrances that came with it, even within the scope of Christian work itself.

Need for Independence

It is the overwhelming conviction in the conference that unless the Chinese Christian movement achieves complete independence, i.e. self-government, self-propagation and self-support, there can be no true rejuvenation, no elimination of waste, no effective coordination of activities, and no removal of the incumbrances that are besetting the movement today.

The conference fully realized that to achieve such a goal will not be an easy task, but all were convinced that it is a path that all must follow.

Unlike the conferences in the past, the number of resolutions adopted was not voluminous. In the past, discussions covered a wide field, resolutions were adopted by the scores, only largely to be forgotten when the conference was over. Responsibilities had been heaped upon the NCC, as if it were almighty, with the result that the NCC became more and more detached from the local churches and the denominational groups.

This time, there was a feeling of responsibility on the part of all who participated. Unless the individual parts of the Christian movement take seriously upon their shoulders the task of carrying out the reforms within their own field, the NCC, by itself, will be impotent. Thus, the important resolutions were in the nature of "calls" to the churches and Christian organizations in general.

These were:

1) To give approval to the manifesto recently issued by some 40 Christian leaders and signed by more than 5,000 persons, and to call upon all the churches and Christian organizations to extend the movement among their own constituencies.

2) To respond to the call of the Central People's Relief Commission in the winter clothing campaign for the relief of flood refugees.

3) To call upon all Christians to support the land reform policy of the government.

These three signified the common stand of the delegates gathered, in supporting the Common Program of the People's Government, and in performing certain specific duties at the present juncture in implementing that support.

The resolutions adopted on "Church Reform" were:

1) To urge the churches and Christian organizations all over the country to exert their greatest will and effort with a view toward achieving complete self-government, self-support and self-propagation within five years. Details of procedure were left to the individual organizations to work out in the light of their special circumstances.

2) To call upon all churches and Christian organizations to start a "youth emphasis" movement, with a view to secure a one-third participation in the leadership and planning by Christian youth, and to revive the work of the "Student Volunteer Movement" (dedication of youth to Christian work).

3) To call upon all Christian workers and believers to make an effort to know and understand the "new era."

4) To call upon all churches and Christian organizations to thoroughly scrutinize and readjust their present activities, so as to actually meet the needs of the people.

It was illuminating to note that most of the time was spent in dealing with the problem of achieving self-support, and the concrete measures suggested were:

1) To deepen and strengthen the faith of Christian workers and believers.

2) To put reliance on the rank and file of Christian believers.

3) To practice austerity and to eliminate waste.

4) To promote productive labor.

Deviations from Christianity

These resolutions and measures, by themselves, form an articulate proof of how far the Christian bodies have deviated from their right path. They help to bring out the general feeling that Christians, in the past, have gradually shifted their foundation from depth of true Christian conviction, which should be the impregnable fortress on which Christian work is to be established, to something else that is uncertain and shaky, and liable to crumble.

They show how the churches in the past have gradually lost the vision and vigor of youth and estranged themselves from their youthful elements. There has been more satisfaction with, and more eagerness to maintain, the status quo, rather than a desire to move forward, which has always been the characteristic of youth.

They also show how some of the superstructures established and supported by mission funds have now proved to be out of gear with the realities of Chinese life, necessitating a thorough re-examination and re-orientation. Judgment is passed on the life of ease that has eaten its way among Christians.

As to the NCC itself, in addition to the general resolutions stated above, which apply to all the Christian organizations, including the NCC, the following actions may be noted:

Changes for NCC

1) Amendment of the NCC constitution. It was recalled that the existing constitution came into effect some 20 years ago. Both in language and content, it has long since been outmoded.

If the NCC is to serve the purpose expected of it in the new era, its relationships with its constituent parts, the kind of service it should perform, the form of internal organization it should have, all need to be re-examined and re-oriented. The constitution, therefore, must be amended to meet the new requirements. A committee has since been appointed by the Executive Committee charged with the task of drafting the amendments.

In order that those church bodies at present outside the scope of the NCC, but contemplating joining the NCC, may have a voice in the drafting of the new constitution, the first draft will be circulated among them also, to secure their reactions. Thus, a broader and more democratic foundation will be laid from the outset.

2) Call for more membership. Among the delegates attending the conference, more than half were sent by non-member church organizations. The conference has paved the way for the admission of new members. The NCC was asked to send an invitation to all the non-member church groups to join the NCC as regular members. The signs are that many will join shortly.

3) Closer relationship with the local Christian federations. All over the country there has been established both city and regional Christian federations, composed of various Christian groups in the locality. In the past, the relationship between the NCC and these local units has not been definitely worked out. The NCC was asked to work out a definite plan of relationship.

4) Liaison office in Peking. It was thought that the NCC being a national organization with very wide relationships all over the country, should have a liaison office in the capital, in order to keep abreast of the important developments. An action was taken to ask the NCC to establish such an office.

The last plenary session of the conference had, as its central theme the question of how the delegates could effectively convey the spirit and findings of the conference to the rank and file of Christians all over the country. The conference has sounded the call of a new epoch in the life of the Christian Church in China. The delegates have pledged themselves to be the torch-bearers of this new life.

— *Y. C. TU*

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

North Koreans Fight On

DESPITE the headlines in the Western press it was apparent that the fighting in Korea was not over. Promises to get the "boys home for Thanksgiving," and later, "for Christmas," were soon forgotten by the American military minds who made them. As winter fell in North Korea the mode of resistance by the Korean People's Army became more known. As was the case with the Chinese PLA, when they were faced with an overwhelming force in China, the formula of large-scale guerilla warfare was being adhered to.

From the time of American intervention the KPA anticipated retreat from the valleys of South Korea and it made ready to fight a guerilla war of prolonged duration. In the period the KPA was in South Korea, land was distributed to a land-hungry peasantry and other economic and political reforms begun. Partially as a result of such measures, as had been the case in China against the US-backed KMT, it was expected that a strong guerilla rear has been formed. The number of Koreans who joined the KPA was reported to have doubled in five weeks following land reform in South Korea.

Despite official US claims, qualified military observers have agreed that the North Korean armies were by no means destroyed or trapped. Hanson Baldwin, *New York Times* military expert, pointed out in one column that the Korean withdrawals on the southern front "were a planned retreat and not a rout."

In Washington, *Reuter* reported that an American Army Defense Department spokesman had stated that the war in Korea was far from over. "The spokesman told reporters that the US should not be lulled into any false sense of optimism by the successes of the UN forces." He said there had been no indication of any mass surrenders and also pointed out that North Korea is larger than the south and is more mountainous, affording good cover for guerilla operations.

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THAT predictions of large-scale guerilla warfare were not empty talk was brought out by mid-November. A *Pan-Asia News Agency* story from Tokyo on November 17 stated that a "second front" had been opened by North Korean guerillas behind the UN lines. This new development included the intensification of guerilla attacks on supply bases and artillery positions, *PANA* reported, quoting official sources.

A SCAP spokesman said that the guerilla fighting followed the same pattern all through the rear areas and apparently was directed by a central command. The same spokesman said "the guerilla attacks are closely coordinated with Red military operations in the formal combat areas."

At the same time the *Agence France Presse* related from Seoul that General Kim Cheik, who headed the KPA in South Korea, had succeeded in organizing a North Korean guerilla army in the Chunchon Mountains, immediately south of the 38th Parallel about 50 miles northeast of Seoul. About 40,000 KPA soldiers were said to have remained in South Korea and were obeying a centralized command, according to the South Korean Home Minister Cho Yyung Ok, *AFP* reported.

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In Occupied Korea

Even as US troops continued their advance towards the Manchurian border, reports from "occupied Korea" which had been retaken from the North Koreans gave some inkling of what was in store for the Korean people.

Wrote the London *Daily Mirror* correspondent of charges of alleged collaboration with the North Koreans in Seoul: "I have seen people arrested, in many cases on the information of neighbors, bashed to unconsciousness with rifle butts at police stations by the police extorting confessions. . . . Prisoners go to trial in batches of 40. They sit in the body of the court, stepping forward for interrogation as their names are called. The bench consists of three, two army officers and a civilian. Defender and prosecutor are government appointed. No members of the public or of the heavily censored local press attend. In more than 100 cases I heard, no defense witnesses appeared and the official defense counsel seemed only slightly less antagonistic than the prosecutor to the prisoners. . . ."

Describing conditions in Seoul, the *London Times*, in a dispatch from the South Korean capital, stated: ". . . much of the industrial legacy of the Japanese occupation has been destroyed. In Seoul alone four-fifths of the public buildings and factories have been destroyed and one-third of the homes razed. In South Korea 2,000,000 are homeless and unemployed. . .

"Reports indicate that murder of isolated North Korean troops and of South Koreans suspected of collaborating is increasing . . . many South Korean officials and policemen have started witch-hunts of their own, and workers whose only sin was to continue to serve public utilities are being regarded as Communist sympathizers."

United Press reported that police chief Lee It Hung of Seoul had announced that 9,904 suspects had been arrested by the end of October for active collaboration with the North Koreans. According to the law, all treason trials were conducted by a military court.

A Reuter report from London on November 3, quoting the *News Chronicle*, stated that "police and agents of the South Korean President Syngman Rhee, were treating both opponents and innocent civilians abominably. Referring to the actions in Seoul, the *News Chronicle* was reported as saying "morally and politically they do great harm to the UN cause."

* * *

Words Vs. Actions

To the people of Asia words and deeds speak for themselves. Despite the hasty official US cover-ups of utterings such as Secretary of the Navy Matthews' call for a preventive war or when MacArthur gave vent to his opinion on the need for America to use Taiwan as a base for war in the Far East, the design for Asia appears everywhere.

The boldness with which the American press is voicing official opinion is apparent in Asia. A look at news stories and magazine articles from America's most respectable publications is revealing.

Even while American troops were driving toward the Chinese border in Korea [illegible] MacArthur's "high officials was quoted by *International News Service* as saying that the Yalu River was not the natural boundary between China and Korea. At the same time, *Agence France Presse* described the remarks of another MacArthur spokesman "as one of the most provocative statements ever made at a briefing." This was in reference to the spokesman's declaration that it was an anomalous situation for the "Communists" to have a bomb-free base across the Yalu River, only 30 to 50 miles from the frontlines.

In this part of the world wide-spread publicity has been given to a report published in the October 13 issue of *US News and World Report*, which confirms US intentions to occupy Korea and invade Manchuria. The

article also includes a map of Korea and Manchuria containing arrows denoting the air distance between North Korea and the Chinese cities of Mukden, Harbin and Peking.

Said the magazine: "Across North Korea from Seoul lies Manchuria which is the industrial powerhouse of Communist China. The Manchurian border is less than 250 miles from Seoul. On the northeastern corner of North Korea is Russian Siberia. If and when Americans occupy North Korea they will be just 100 air miles from Mukden, 75 air miles from Vladivostok in Siberia. It would be the only place in the world where US troops would stand on the borders of the Soviet Union proper. . . The links between Communist China and Soviet Russia have been under constant air attack. Now they are exposed to US and UN forces victorious in South Korea."

On November 2, *Telepress* reported from New York on some letters written by Yen Pen Ku, counsellor on foreign affairs to Syngman Rhee, which deal with American strategy. One letter, written in December 1948, a year and a half before Korea became a battlefield, is another revelation.

Dealing with the need for coordination in Korea, Yen wrote: "Actions must be guided by a supreme commander-in-chief in three directions, namely, the Japanese must advance along the Northeast salient and pass through Vladivostok; the Korean and American armies after the liberation of our northern territories must pass through Liaotung Peninsula and reach Harbin; the Chinese Nationalist Army must recapture the territories lost by China, Liaotung province included.

"After the victorious conclusion of the war Korean American armies must occupy Manchuria. . . . In the next stage of remaking the Far East, Japan must be secured a dominating influence and part of Siberia handed over to her."

* * *

Japanese Liberals Worried

THE SCAP purge of "Communists" in Japan, which has reached into many segments of industry, has liberals and unions worried. Nearly 10,000 Japanese "Communists" and "sympathizers" have been thrown out of their jobs in key industries. According to the *Pan-Asia News Agency*, "They have been condemned without trial, and have been refused the right to appeal against decisions based upon unrevealed details."

Fears of a full-scale "totalitarian state" have increased as a result of SCAP's handling of the purges. In answer to an appeal by a group of purged workers, the Tokyo Procurators Office issued a statement to the effect that a court does not possess jurisdiction over a measure directed by SCAP. Thus, a precedent has been set whereby purges are denied the right to a judicial trial.

As the purge got under way, Japan's chief industries were effected as a result of instructions by SCAP which called for the elimination of "Communists" from the coal, steel, iron, machinery and metal mining industries.

Union leaders have expressed their open fear that employers are taking advantage of SCAP policy to get rid of leaders who are interested in such things as higher wages and better treatment of union members. Since it is quite easy to brand all opposition as "Communist" there is a grave threat that employers are not going to be reluctant to use the present drive to break the back of the Japanese labor movement.

It has been pointed out that purgees are virtually denied further employment in their trade or profession unless they change their residence and hide their past and identity. According to *PANA* in Tokyo, "They are swelling the ranks of the unemployed, but with a bitterness in their hearts at having been condemned without trial for 'progressiveness' and 'freedom of thought' which was encouraged during the early years of the occupation."

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WHILE the purge of Communists has been going on in Japan, old-time war criminals are being "unpurged" by the Yoshida government with MacArthur's approval.

A *Kyodo News Agency* dispatch from Tokyo quoted an announcement issued by the Japanese government to the effect that 3,250 former Japanese army and navy officers will be freed from the war criminal purge list in order to take up "public" service. Among the group, 1,761 are army officers and the rest naval.

At the same time, *Kyodo* reported that similar measures would be applied to officers who had entered army or naval academies before Pearl Harbor. Simultaneously, "paroling" of war criminals is continuing.

* * *

The Russian Question

THE *New York Times* has a slogan, "All The News That's Fit To Print." However, in the case of its own Moscow correspondent, the *Times* has seen fit to add an explanation to a series of four articles written by him which reveal: 1) there is a vast program of building going on throughout the USSR, 2) the number-one topic of conversation in Moscow is the government's huge new hydro-electric program, 3) there is no "war scare" among the Soviet people, 4) the inhabitants of the Soviet Union solidly support their government's foreign policy and pay no attention to the "Voice of America."

In an obvious effort to discredit the contents of these four articles the *Times*' editor has prefaced each one with a note stating that they were subjected to censorship and written with that in mind. By way of further "explanation" for the favorable contents of the articles, the editor also claimed that the *Times* did not receive certain requested material from its correspondent which would have made "them more complete."

Notwithstanding these none too subtle methods of running down the reports of their own correspondent by the management of the *Times*, this series by Harrison E. Salisbury can be nothing but a shock for the American public which has been fed to the bursting point on anti-Soviet lies in the guise of news stories. The series, needless to say, is in sharp contrast with *Times*' editorials dealing with the USSR, which is apparently one of the main reasons for the editor's "explanatory" preface.

* * *

WHILE high circles in America have taken up the chant of "atomic and preventive" war against the USSR, Salisbury, who returned to that country in October after several months' leave, reported peaceful pursuits were being emphasized.

He points out in his first article that "during the past summer hundreds of millions of rubles, tens of thousands of man-hours and vast quantities of Soviet industrial output have been poured into the program for beautification of the Soviet capital. It is hard not only for Soviet citizens but for foreigners long resident in Moscow to believe that the Kremlin would continue the program on this vast scale if it seriously believed that atomic bombs might soon be falling on Soviet territory."

This great effort, the *Times* correspondent notes "is going forward on a large, even grandiose scale, not only in Moscow but in other cities as well. . . . Many foreign observers in Moscow, including this correspondent, are convinced that the construction program in the summer of 1950 has been considerably larger than in any other year since the war."

Dealing with the number-one topic of interest, the great power and irrigation projects that will be erected on the Volga, and the new program for making Asiatic

deserts bloom by changing the course of the ancient Amu Darya River, Salisbury says, "No visitor can converse with a Muscovite for five minutes without hearing about these gigantic schemes." These undertakings are not to be completed until the mid-fifties, and will cost billions of rubles. According to Salisbury, "Moscow's man in the street regards this investment as evidence of his government's confidence in its ability to maintain and preserve world peace."

As to daily life, the *Times* man states that there has been an increasing abundance of consumer goods in the shops and that the price of Soviet autos has been somewhat reduced, a reflection of a constant increase in production. He reports that food supplies are ample, as they were last spring, but more varieties are available. The same is true for textiles and leather goods while there has been a steady increase in items made from aluminum and steel, which Salisbury believes makes it apparent that "the Kremlin does not anticipate requiring these basic materials for war production at some early date." He also notes the "evidence that exists on every side that the Soviet government has made no radical alteration in its economic program as a result of the war in Korea and Soviet-US tension."

On the Korea issue Salisbury found that "Soviet citizens find nothing to justify the actions that the US has taken in Korea, or indeed, in the whole catalogue of matters in dispute between the US and the Soviet Union. . . . The ordinary Russian certainly regards the Korean conflict as a civil war, in which the US—not the UN—has intervened. . . . There is an overwhelming desire for continued peace. There appears to be no segment of the Soviet public that desires war or that would look with enthusiasm on a prospect of war with the US. I have heard of no Russian who in private conversation or publicly has suggested that the Soviet Union should wage a 'preventive war' against the US, or who has proposed using the force of Soviet arms to produce revolution in the US or, for that matter, in Western Europe."

* * *

WITH regard to government foreign policy, Salisbury has discussed this matter with Soviet citizens. He reports that "nothing in any of these conversations gives cause for the belief that there is the slightest cleavage between Soviet citizens and their government on this vital issue. Any supposition abroad that such a cleavage does in fact exist, or is likely to develop, is wishful thinking at best and may be extremely dangerous."

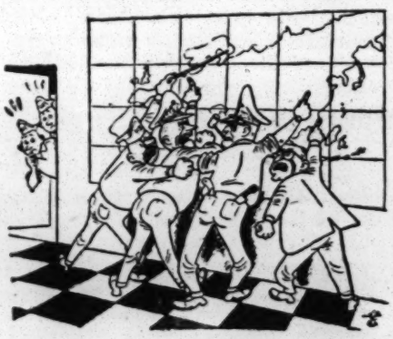
In view of the general feeling in America today about the USSR, brought about largely by the American press, Salisbury finds it necessary to state the basis for the conclusions he has arrived at in his four *Times* articles.

"Having just returned to Moscow after several months spent in the US, this correspondent is aware that some of the statements in this dispatch may come as a surprise to most Americans, and that there may be some who will view several of these assertions with considerable skepticism. Perhaps it is well, therefore, to emphasize that these are observed facts, not all the facts to be sure, but sufficient to provide important conclusions regarding the mood and temper of the Soviet people and their government."

Four Views

Daily Worker (London)

"You murderous, evil, sycophantic, shapeless Communist, you!"

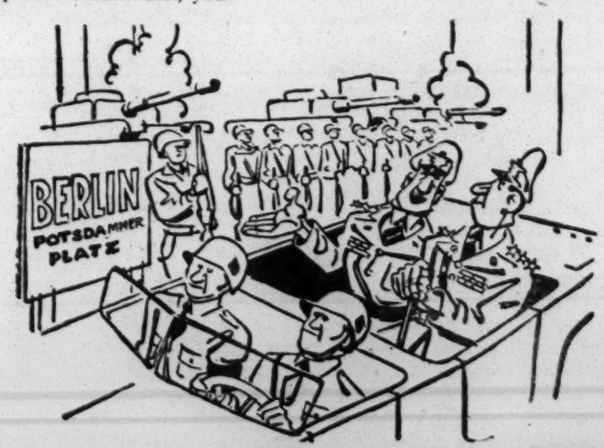


Vie Nuove (Rome)

"They are fighting to decide which country is going to be the next aggressor."

THE WASHINGTON POST

"I've shrewdly managed to get him to join us



National Guardian, (New York)

"Just think, if it weren't for all this fuss we'd be in Peoria trying to peddle vacuum cleaners."

New Trend in Films

Julian Schuman

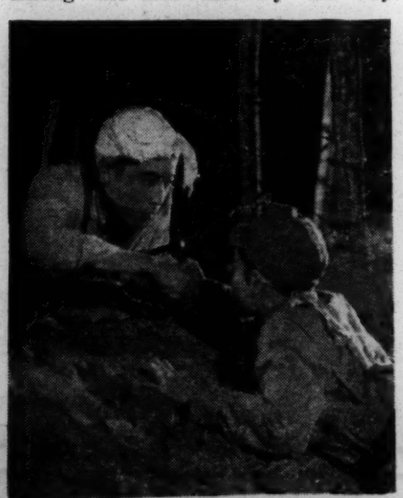
LESS than a year ago, a Westerner with considerable movie-making experience before coming to China had great hopes for new China's movies. However, at that time, he held that the Western critic and film-goer "breathlessly awaits the day when the Chinese films will move out of the studios, leave the actors and actresses to their stage parts, and show some of the countryside and the scope of the Chinese revolution in terms of the great masses of the people, real living people, in humble realistic situations."

One of the growing trends among Chinese films is the increasing number dealing with life in the countryside. Far too long has the movie industry ignored this aspect of Chinese society which actually accounts for almost 90 percent of the nation's population.

For centuries the Chinese theater, rich in the heritage of peasant culture and folklore, has captivated millions of Chinese. However, from its beginning, the Chinese film has not only been strongly influenced by the West, particularly Hollywood, but has also been aimed at an urban audience, a small minority out of the country's total population.

Film Progressives

The progressive movement had staunch adherents in the ranks of China's filmdom even in the darkest days of Kuomintang repression. This small group was constantly struggling to make of the Chinese movie something more than an ineffectual imitation of Hollywood at its most tawdry. With the Chinese market largely controlled by American interests, none but the politically conscious among the film industry did anything other than try to cater to an audience brought up on Hollywood.



A leader of the people's militia is joined by a puppet soldier in a night sortie on a Japanese strong point in "Mountain Warriors".

Despite the oppressive conditions some moves of a social nature were made during the KMT rule. However, even these, subjected to close official scrutiny, while pointing to the negative aspects f society never were so rash as to offer any solution, except through allegory or subtlety. By and large, content followed western procedure, social consequences were avoided and "entertainment" at a level usually no higher than a grade "B" American picture was the vogue.

* * *

AMONG the resources now available to be put on film is one of mankind's greatest social movements, the more than 20-year struggle to free China from the Kuomintang, feudalism, and foreign imperialism. Not only this, but the wealth of theme material coming out of the building of a new society is overwhelming.

By far, three of the best movies released in the last few months have dealt with different phases of the peasants' struggle. They are "Mountain Warriors" (呂梁英雄), "Happy Farmers" (農家樂), and "The Glorious Family" (光榮人家). Each was produced in a different area, a Peking studio, a Shanghai studio and a studio in the Northeast.

"Mountain Warriors," in my opinion, ranks with all previous first-class Chinese movies from any angle. The story takes place in a small village in Shansi province during the Japanese invasion. In simple terms it tells the tale of how the people of this far-off place, like so many others who made up the backbone of Chinese armed resistance to Japanese imperialism, learned the basic lesson of the need to work together to defeat their common enemy. Starting with the initial failure of the small group of Communists to organize a people's militia, which results in the Japanese burning and plundering their village, the camera traces the struggle of these common folk. It is only through bitter experience and organization that eventually victory is theirs.

In bare outline this is not the making of a great picture. However, as the story unfolds on the screen it tells the experiences of millions of Chinese all over the country in simple and realistic terms. The picture's very simplicity is a strong point, for when an invading army is on the rampage there is only one problem—effective and wholehearted organized resistance.

The acting in "Mountain Warriors" is superb and effective, giving the audience a vivid picture of the peasant during the war against the Japanese. From the cadre leader to the traitorous landlord real people are portrayed. The love interest, though a minor element, is sufficient. The typical Western criticism of much Chinese drama, too great an exaggeration in heroes and villains, cruelty and sorrow, are not to be found in this truly moving film.

"Happy Farmers" deals with peasant life after land reform. Made by members of a Shanghai studio who journeyed to a village in Shantung province, stayed there and then shot the picture, this also is a moving story pertinent to today's China.

Briefly, it is about an old peasant, who although he had been a supporter of the fight against the Japanese and KMT, cannot bring himself to accept some of the "new fangled" ideas about cotton planting, as explained by a group of governmental agricultural workers. The old man's unwillingness to accept methods which would do away with his "40 years of experience" in planting cotton make up the heart of the movie. And it is only through actual experience, guidance and social pressure from the great majority that he is made to realize the effectiveness of the new way of planting cotton.

Collective Action

Perhaps nothing contained in all these three pictures needs more stress than the way social pressure makes the peasant aware that his future lies with the masses of his fellow-villagers. Contrary to all the pap circulated abroad about the use of force to "regiment" the people, these movies record the fact that the very process of changing Chinese society is based on learning through experience the benefits of collective action.

"Happy Warrior," made in the countryside where technical difficulties were great, has one noticeable shortcoming. Many of the shots, either through poor lighting or improper development, are too dark and are a definite drawback.

The third of this trio of films on peasant life is "The Glorious Family," which is about peasants in the Northeast during the campaign to liberate that entire area. It centers around one family in a village which has already been liberated. The fight to free the rest of the Northeast goes on and members of the village volunteer to join the ranks of those going along with the army to serve as stretcher-bearers at the front.

Having received his own farm after land reform, the father, despite his advanced years, volunteers and leaves the homestead in the charge of his two daughter-in-laws. His two sons are at the front and their wives live with the old man and his teenage son.

Two of the leading players of the Shanghai studio who went to Shantung province to make "Happy Farmers"

The main conflict is between the two women. The elder, although a model farm worker, is impatient with the younger daughter-in-law who is more concerned with spending her time in the village recreation center dancing the *yang ko* than she is in working at home.

With the father away at the front, where he meets his two sons, the women have a falling out after the younger one has to stay home to look after the older one's baby while the latter delivers supplies to the army. When the husband of the elder daughter-in-law hears about this he is crestfallen and cannot understand it since his wife is a model worker in the village.

However, the two women overcome their own problems, one realizing that she has been too quick to criticize without offering constructive suggestions, while the younger one decides that there is a time and place for *yang ko* dancing. She eventually becomes a member of the village dance troupe, but only after she realizes the need to work as well.

"The Glorious Family" is a picture of peasant support of their own army, the PLA, and as such it captures the spirit and atmosphere which prevailed in the Northeast as the PLA made ready to liberate the entire country. Once again, pictures of country and village life and people are realistically brought to life on the screen. This one has by far the best musical score of the three.

That flaws are present in all these pictures is evident. Cutting sometimes is not too well done, one or two shots are spotty and the lack of modern camera equipment is noticeable. However, again one of the biggest Western complaints about Chinese drama, its long and drawn-out nature, finds no grounds here. All three are generally fast moving.

These three pictures have left behind perhaps the greatest weakness of the new Chinese movies, the tendency to produce only photographed plays. Instead of the usual looseness at the joints, the wordiness and clumsiness in editing, so prevalent previously, the camera talks. Fewer ideas are used but instead of trying to say too much with words, ideas are dwelled on and are expressed pictorially with great force . . . the prerequisite for a moving picture. Dramatically, the characters who are presented are not mere dummys, figments of the imagination or two dimensional shadows. They are real persons with whom the audience can identify itself.

It is impossible not to note the contrast between these three fine films and various "fly-by-night" productions put out by some Shanghai studios following liberation. Made with only a surface understanding of peasant life there have been a number of movies with a "progressive" line hastily adhered to or, in some cases, tacked on to the last few scenes.

Hongkong Versions

Movies coming from Hongkong serve as an example between the old and the new. Although fitted out with the latest American technical equipment, the Hongkong studios have had a sorry record.

In some cases they have attempted to show peasant life through actors who look more as if they had just popped out of one of the colony's fancier restaurants or night clubs. Their version of what China is like, past or present, is no more true than are the hundreds of Hollywood epics which show some $30-a-week salesgirl in a gaudy five-room apartment swishing around in evening gowns and furs. Even where Hongkong has contented itself with movies dealing with pre-liberation China the result has been far from a happy one. The influence of Hollywood permeates from all angles and a general run of meaningless movies have emerged.

However, a new factor has emerged, one which strikes at the pocketbook, for Hongkong is faced with the fact that its biggest market, China, is seeing the birth of a new audience. This is an audience which will not be willing to bear with past performances, for in China movies are developing both in content and in number.

Thus, a recent Hongkong film was made from one of new China's most loved stories written by a top-flight contemporary, Chao Shu-li. "The Marriage of Hsiao Er-hei" (小二黑結婚) is a love story which deals with the benefits of the new marriage law in a small village in north China.

In this instance it can be said that this movie is far better than the Hongkong standard, although there is much to be desired. Throughout the film are many traces of the genuineness of the original tale which save this truly fine story from being completely wrecked. However, by and large, the movie version has been "lightened" and the characters generally are far from peasants.

Whether it be the stumbling attempts of Hongkong to jump on the progressive bandwagon or its strictly old-time shallow entertainment, the present trend in the three films on peasant life so successfully cardied off here in China are a shining beacon. One need go no further than the vivid and true-to-life pictures now being made in China in contrast to some Hongkong version of Hollywood to see two contrasting societies—one which is decaying and dying and one which is robust and alive.

The peasant father in "The Glorious Family" drinks a toast after the liberation of Mukden.

The Strafing of Kooloutzu by American Planes

On August 27 US planes began crossing the Korean-Chinese border. Since that time there have been nearly 100 separate violations of China's border by MacArthur's airmen. On some occasions the violation has been by reconnaissance planes, either singly or in groups. On other occasions the violations have taken the form of actual attacks on towns, cities, highways, railroads, villages and even small groups of peasants by American fighters and bombers. In the accompanying story, a reporter tells of his visit to the small village of Kooloutzu and of his talks with the relatives of several fishermen who were machinegunned by an American fighter in one of the earlier border provocations.

KOOLOUTZU is a small Manchurian village, some 40 kilometers northeast of Antung. If you stand on the ridge above it, you will see an expanse of ripened crops waving invitingly in the early autumn breeze and the village itself cradled in a clump of green trees.

The tallest building in the village, formerly a landlord's mansion, is now occupied by the people's government. Here the villagers meet to conduct their affairs. A village cooperative is also housed there. It buys agricultural produce from the local peasants and supplies them with farming implements and industrial goods.

Most of the 2,500 inhabitants of Kooloutzu are peasants who, since the land reform, own the land they till. They also raise silk worms. In slack farming seasons they go fishing. In the daytime, everyone is at work — the peasants in the field, the women spinning and weaving and the children attending the village school. Everywhere is peace and tranquility.

Even the Yalu River flows quietly in front of the village.

* * *

ON the afternoon of August 29, the peaceful life of Kooloutzu was shattered.

A river fishing boat flying the Chinese flag was aground on the beach, and the ten members of the crew were all working to refloat it, when four American planes swept over them. They flew so low that kaoliang (sorghum) plants on the bank were blown over and uprooted.

Immediately, one of the planes returned, machine-gunning the boat. Wu Hsi-chun and Tung Chin-kuei at the stern were instantly killed. Chang Yun-chih was seriously wounded. A bullet pierced the right lung of Liu Fu-chou, who stood up amidship on the portside. He fell overboard and was killed. Yang Teh-cheng, who was pushing the boat, was wounded, and two of the fingers on his right hand were torn away. Chang Yun-fu was wounded in the water, and his right ribs were pierced by shrapnel. At the bow, both Chen Sheng-kuei and Chia Yu-fa were wounded.

Only two of the ten boatmen escaped the deliberate massacre of the US air-pirates. Yin Hsueh-tou took cover at the right side of the mainmast, while Liu Wan-hsi ducked into the water during the raid.

The fishing boat is about 7½ meters long. After the strafing, its hull was covered with 20 bullet holes. It was spattered with blood from prow to stern.

* * *

I ARRIVED at Kooloutzu village when the funerals were being arranged with the help of the representatives of the people's government sent from the city of Antung and of the Fishermen's Union.

The following morning, I interviewed the family of Wu Hsi-chun. He had left behind him a mother of almost 80, a pregnant wife, four children and a sister. The government gave them a grant of 15,000,000 Northeast dollars, and the union had undertaken to look after them until the children have grown up.

As Wu's body was being placed into the coffin, his old mother in a paroxysm of grief cried, "The American pirates have killed my son.

"They shot him through his throat. They must be punished, we must punish them! . . ."

A young wife and three children mourned in the home of Tung Chin-kuei. The body of this robust fisherman was scarred by three bullet holes. One was under his right armpit, through which his lung was pierced. His widow buried her head in her hands and cried.

The brother of Liu Fu-chou, the third victim of the US air-raid, told me that he had just passed his 20th birthday, when his youthful life was snatched away by these killers from the other side of the Pacific Ocean.

I visited the homes of those wounded by American shrapnel. In the home of Chang Yun-chih, I talked with his wife and three children. She told me that when her husband was brought home, he was soaked with blood from the wound in his right arm. "Should be become maimed," she added, "and the living conditions of the family endangered, I will demand that American murderers be made to pay this bloody debt."

* * *

THREE days after the American raid, the men and women of Kooloutzu gathered at a mass rally on the banks of the historic Yalu. They called for the punishment of those responsible for this slaughter of innocent people.

In the counties of Chi-an, Kuantien, Antung, Changpai and Linchiang, where the American air-pirates have repeated their murderous attacks against scores of victims, the people called for the punishment of the aggressor. In Chi-an, the peasants have re-formed their revolutionary militia to guard their homes. In Changpai, the youth have led the way in volunteering for service with the Korean people's forces. Throughout the Northeast the people have asked their government: "Act now to aid Korea and protect our homes!"

That demand is now being echoed from one end to the other of China.

— K'E CHIA-LUNG

List of Border Violations by US Planes

The following is an incomplete list of violations of the Korean-Chinese border by US aircraft during the period August 27 to November 14 of this year. This detailed account, compiled by *Hsinhua News Agency*, gives a hitherto unsuspected picture of the scope of these provocations.

AN incomplete summary of the US air-raids over Northeast China reads as follows:

At 10:04 hours August 27, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county of Liaoting province.

At 10:05 hours August 27, four American planes made two strafing runs on Talitsu station of Linkiang county, damaging one locomotive.

At 11:04 hours August 27, four American planes strafed Talitsu station and the river bridge area of Linkiang county, wounding one locomotive driver and a civilian, damaging two locomotives, one passenger coach and a guard's van.

At 14:30 hours August 27, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Antung city of Liaotung province.

At 16:40 hours August 27, two American planes strafed Antung airfield, killing three workers and wounding 19 workers. Two trucks were destroyed.

At 17:45 hours August 29, four American planes reconnoitred over Lakooshao of Kwantien county, then flew over Changtienhokow of Kwantien county, where they strafed civilian boats, killing one fisherman and wounding two others. They later appeared over Kuloutsu of Antung, where they strafed civilian boats, killing three fishermen, heavily wounding two fishermen and slightly wounding three others.

At 22:01 hours September 22, one American plane reconnoitred over Lakooshao, Kwantien county.

At 22:15 hours September 22, one American plane dropped 12 bombs over Antung city, wounding two people, levelling 28 houses, the tile roofs and windows of more than 300 houses were damaged, and five *mou* of vegetable land were devastated.

At 15:07 hours on October 13, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Yenkiang village of Changpai county of Liaotung province.

At 20:00 hours on October 14, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Huolungkaitsu village of Chian county.

At 20:45 hours on October 14, one American plane circled and reconnoitred above Chian county.

At 14:25 hours on October 15, four American planes flew at low altitude and strafed Antung city.

At 19:50 hours on October 16, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Tikou village of Chian county.

At 23:00 hours on October 20, one American plane dropped a bomb in Changtien district of Kwantien county.

At 14:07 hours on October 21, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tikou village of Chian county.

At 14:10 hours on October 22, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Haikwan village of Chian county.

At 15:07 hours on October 22, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao village of Kwantien county.

At 10:36 hours on October 24, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tikou village of Chian county.

At 7:25 hours on October 25, four American planes strafed Erhtakou village of Weishaho district of Linkiang county and one child and one cow were wounded.

At 7:26 hours on October 25, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Hwangpaitientsu village of Chian county.

At 12:10 hours on October 28, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Shangtao village northeast of Chian county.

At 10:44 hours on October 29, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Tikou village of Chian county.

At 11:45 hours on October 29, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Shihpataokou village of Changpai county.

At 23:15 hours on October 31, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Huolungkaitsu village of Chian county.

At 23:29 hours on October 31, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Hwangpaitientsu of Chian county.

At 23:40 hours on October 31, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Chian county.

At 12:50 hours on November 1, six American planes circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 14:55 hours on November 1, eight American planes circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 11:08 hours on November 2, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county.

At 13:57 hours on November 2, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Shihpataokou of Changpai county.

At 14:03 hours on November 2, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Shihsantaokou of Changpai county.

At 14:10 hours on November 2, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Shiherhaokou of Changpai county.

At 18:55 hours on November 2, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 6:45 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chiehfang village of Chian county.

At 7:30 hours on November 3, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao village of Kwantien county.

At 9:44 hours on November 3, three American planes strafed over Liangmintientsu and Huashutientsu of Chian county; one peasant was killed, one cow killed and one cow wounded.

At 9:59 hours on November 3, nine American planes circled and reconnoitred over Hwangpaitientsu of Chian county.

At 10:02 hours on November 3, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county.

At 10:08 hours on November 3, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Shanghuolungwaitsu village of Chian county.

At 15:30 hours on November 3, four American planes strafed and dropped 22 bombs over Malukou village of Pataokou of Changpai county; 55 houses were destroyed with heavy losses to the residents' property.

At 15:50 hours on November 3, one American plane strafed over Tatungkou of Antung city.

At 15:55 hours on November 3, one American plane strafed over Pachiatsu village of Kwantien county.

At 17:04 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Yangshutientsu of Chian county.

At 17:16 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Liangmintientsu of Chian county.

At 17:32 hours on Novemer 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tachingkou of Hwangpaitientsu of Chian county.

At 17:45 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tahaotsukou of Chian county.

At 18:18 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tatungpan of Chian county.

At 18:26 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Talukou of Chian county.

At 18:29 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Huatientsu of Chian county.

At 18:40 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Huanjen county of Liaotung province.

At 19:22 hours on November 3, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Hsialouho of Kwantien county.

At 22:35 hours on November 4, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 13:14 hours on November 5, 14 American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county seat.

At 7:15 hours on November 6, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Haikwan village of Chian county.

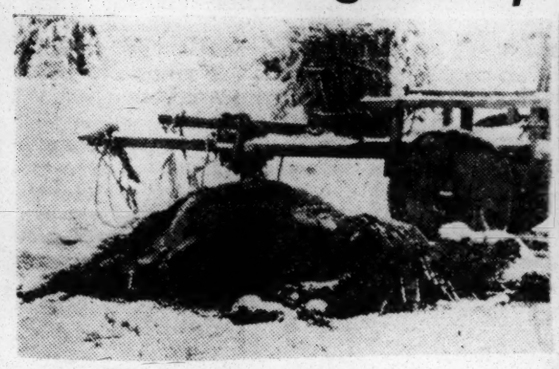
At 7:29 hours on November 7, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tikou village of Chian county.

At 15:00 hours on November 6, one American plane strafed and killed one peasant in Hsiaaihochien village of Chiuliencheng district, Antung city.

At 17:09 hours on November 6, two American planes dropped 10 bombs and strafed near Changpai county seat.

At 9:30 hours November 7, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Changpai county seat.

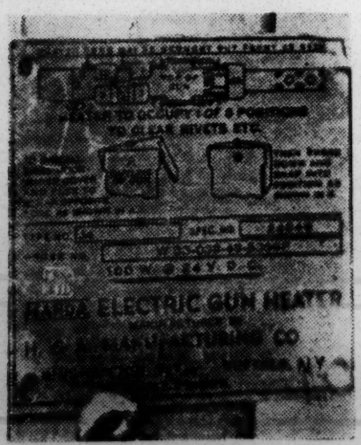
Targets of American Planes



A cow lying dead after being shot through the head and back by an American plane.

Locomotive driver Hsu Kuo-chen receiving medical treatment after four fingers on his left hand were shot off by a US plane which strafed his locomotive near Linkiang in the Northeast on August 27.

Over 30 bullets marked with DM-45, SL-45, LC-43, etc., were left behind by American planes when they strafed Linkiang.



An iron plate dropped by an American plane violating China's air over Linkiang. On the plate can be seen the design of a heavy machinegun and lines of explanatory notes in English as well as the words "Manufactured by H. & A. Manufacturing Co., Binghamton, N.Y., Buffalo, N.Y."

Chang Yun-fu, who was hit in the right arm by US machine-gun fire.

Wang Hsien-tang, a 16-year old boy, wounded in the left leg, left foot, and left ear on Oct. 25, by the U.S. planes which strafed over Erhtaokou of the Weishaho district of Linkiang country.

At 9:50 hours November 7, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Shihpataokou, Changpai county.

At 10:00 hours November 7, two American planes reconnoitred over Shihsiutakou of Changpai county.

At 10:19 hours November 7, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Changpai county seat.

At 12:58 hours November 7, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county seat.

At 13:06 hours November 7, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Huatientsu of Chian county.

At 13:11 hours November 7, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Matikou of Santaoweitsu, Chian county and over Huanjen county.

At 13:50 hours November 7, four American planes strafed Shengli village, Kwangien county.

At 4:20 hours November 8, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao of Kwantien county.

At 5:15 hours November 8, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao of Kwantien county.

At 6:15 hours November 8, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Chantienhokou of Kwantien county.

At 6:25 hours November 8, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Youloutse of Taiping village, Antung county.

At 6:30 hours November 8, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chiehfang village of Chian county.

At 6:49 hours November 8, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Shanghuolungkai village of Chian county.

At 7:28 hours November 8, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Shanghuolungkai village of Chian county.

At 9:13 hours November 8, one American plane dropped a bomb over Antung city, destroying three houses and wounding five people.

At 11:18 hours November 8, nine American planes circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 14:30 hours Noyember 8, six American planes circled and reconnoitred over Linkiang county.

At 1:07 hours November 9, an unknown number of American planes dropped a flare in Lakooshao.

At 2:10 hours November 9, two American planes dropped two bombs on Antung airfield, seriously wounding three people and slightly wounding another and destroying living quarters in the airfield.

At 8:25 hours November 9, six American planes circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao.

At 8:30 hours November 9, 17 or 18 American planes dropped 17 or 18 bombs on Changtienhokou of Kwantien county, destroying more than 500 houses. Civilian casualties are to be ascertained.

At 8:55 hours November 9, nine American planes circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao.

At 8:55 November 9, 12 American planes bombed Antung city.

At 8:56 November 9, a big formation of American planes bombed the river bridge of Antung city.

At 9:26 November 9, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 13:30 hours November 9, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Liushuchen of Chian county.

At 13:45 hours November 9, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Chian county.

At 14:08 hours November 9, nine American planes dropped eight bombs in Linkiang county, destroying three houses and killing three people.

At 9:20 hours November 9, eight American planes strafed and bombed the river bridge in Antung.

At 10:30 hours on November 10, seven American planes circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao.

At 10:35 hours on November 10, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Chian county town and Tikow village in Chian county.

At 14:52 hours on November 10, four American planes strafed above the river bridge of Antung.

At 7:31 hours on November 11, four American planes reconnoitred over Shihpataokow, Changpai county.

At 8:30 hours on November 11, 13 American planes dropped 41 bombs on the river bridge near the Changtien Hokow village, Kwantien county.

At 11:02 hours on November 11, seven American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county town and Tikow village, Chian county.

At 14:19 hours on November 11, eight American planes reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 8:00 hours on November 12, 68 American planes circled and reconnoitred over the river bridge at Antung.

At 8:36 hours on November 12, four American planes circled, reconnoitred and strafed near Lupiyehtse village, Chian county.

At 9:00 hours on November 12, 31 American planes bombed the river bridge and circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 9:30 hours on November 12, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Antung city.

At 11:20 hours on November 12, 14 American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county town and Tikow village, Chian county and strafed over the Yalu River.

At 11:40 hours on November 12, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Lakooshao, Kwantien county.

At 12:00 hours on November 12, 16 American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tikow village, Chian county.

At 16:10 hours on November 12, three American planes circled over the river bridge at Antung city.

At 7:34 hours on November 13, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over the river bridge at Antung.

At 8:05 hours on November 13, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Changpai county.

At 8:15 hours on November 13, two American planes circled and reconnoitred over Changpai county.

At 8:50 hours on November 13, four American planes circled and reconnoitred over Huangpotientse village and the area around Hsiatao village, Chian county.

At 10:17 hours on November 13, 13 American planes circled and reconnoitred over Changpai county and dropped two incendiary bombs on Yenchiang village injuring the side of a peasant named Hu Chang-wen; burned down 11 houses; destroyed 59 piculs of grain, (5,210,000 dollars in Northeast currency) and 51.000.000 dollars worth of clothing and farm implements; and killed one pig and 22 chickens.

At 10:25 hours on November 13, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Huangpotientse village and flew over the areas of Liangmintientse and Hsiatao villages, Chian county.

At 10:55 hours on November 13, 16 American planes intruded over Lakooshao, Kwantien county and headed toward Antung city.

At 11:02 hours on November 13, nine American planes bombed the river bridge of Antung city. One of the heavy bombs was dropped on the Antung side of the river. The bomb crater was 16 meters in diameter and 4.5 meters in depth. Citizens Cheng Kwan-shan and Pei Yu-fu were injured. 157 houses were damaged by explosion.

At 10:35 hours on November 14, one American plane circled and reconnoitred over Haikwan village, Chian county.

At 10:38 hours on November 14, three American planes circled and reconnoitred over Tikow village, Chian county.

At 11:07 hours on November 14, seven American planes circled and reconnoitred over Chian county town and Huangpotientse village, Chian county.

At 11:13 hours on November 14, 26 American planes bombed the river bridge at Antung city and dropped seven bombs along the river bank on the Antung side. One Chinese resident was injured.

At 13:10 hours on November 14, 30 American planes circled over Changpei county for 30 minutes and dropped four bombs on the river side and another eight in Changpai county town. Many houses were damaged.

China's National Minorities Dance

Y. L. S.

SUBJECTED to the Kuomintang policy of racial discrimination, which foisted the theory of the supremacy of the Han race, China's variegated national minorities today are finally coming into their own. In present day China all races are equal before the law and minority customs and folk ways, previously looked down upon, are enjoying a rebirth.

* * *

THE enthusiastic reception given by the people of Peking to a recent dance recital by minority cultural workers speaks for the growing unity among China's different nationalities as well as their artistic endeavor. Arriving in Peking for the October 1 celebration of the founding of new China, the cultural groups of these various minorities remained to win the hearts of the capital's population. The response to their simple dances, primitive instruments and gorgeous costumes manifest not only a revival in minority culture, but a genuine interest on the part of the Han people (the vast majority of Chinese).

The program, performed before packed audiences at the newly built open-air Music Theater in Peking's Central Park, was made up of four parts—Mongolian, Sinkiang, Korean and the different minorities of the Southwest. Wearing their national dress, each group danced and sang to the accompaniment of its own special instruments.

* * *

PERHAPS the most colorful of all groups were those from the Southwest provinces of Sikang, Yunnan and Kweichow. Despite limited previous public experience these people were extremely well poised throughout.

Although the music and dancing of the Southwest minorities varied little, and at times even tended to monotony, it was a new experience for the audience. The wooden reed pipes, the drums, the simple three-step dances were performed beautifully. The climax of this group's performance was a colorful pageant in which all of those from Yunnan, Kweichow and Sikang took part.

First came the Miao men, their pipes decorated with red flags; they danced to their own music while carrying their cumbersome four-foot pipes with ease. They were followed by the elegantly garbed Tibetans from Sikang, the women wearing sparkling colored jerkins and lighter contrasting colored blouses with the traditional long-flowing sleeves hanging a foot or more below the wrist. The Tibetan men joined the dance, cowboy-style felt hats on their heads, wearing high leather boots, colored jackets and breeches. The Yi people, also from Sikang, performed a vigorous dance not unlike a square dance. Then came the stately Miao women, heavily ornamented and wearing silver crowns, followed by Asis from Yunnan and Chungchia from Kweichow.

Each of these Southwest groups performed their own special dance and sang songs welcoming liberation. A galaxy of colors: rich blues, yellows, greens and reds intermingled with a background of red flags held by People's Liberation Army members from the minorities as all appeared together on the stage.

* * *

FAR different from the rest of the program were the songs and dances of the minorities from the Northwest's Sinkiang province, performed by Kazakhs, Uzbeks and others. This singing and dancing was highly flavored with a Central Asian air.

There were spirited Kazakh dances with intricate foot movements. The greatest applause was brought on by a Sinkiang trumpet player, a comedian who first caught the audience's fancy by playing a well-know liberation song, "The Sun is Red in the East." After the tumultuous clapping had died away, the artist pulled his chair close to the edge of the stage and began to mimic Peking opera, waxing satirical on his trumpet as the audience roared.

The Inner Mongolian troupe brought the flavor of far-off Mongolia to Peking as they opened the four-hour program. Whether it was a shepherd's song played on a flute or a song which stressed the growing unity between the Han and Mongol people all were beautifully rendered. Of special significance was an excellent dance solo, "Wild Goose Dance," based on an ancient legend which says that wild geese fly south of the Great Wall into China proper only when the weather grows cold in autumn, and fly north again in the spring. With exquisite and sinuous grace the dancer enacts the legend but takes it one step further. The legend is symbolic of the struggle of the Mongol people. Now that liberation has come, the geese have a homeland over which they can fly at will.

Rounding out the program was the final group made up of the Korean cultural team from Kirin province in the Northeast. These artists performed in a polished and professional style. The struggle of the Korean people for independence was brought out in their songs and dances. Production was another theme which was emphasized. Two very charming dances given by Korean women were "Pounding Rice" and "Washing Clothes." In both these dances the labor of Korea's peasant women is acted out with rhythmic grace and to the accompaniment of folk tunes.

* * *

THE audience left no doubt that the four-hour entertainment was an over-whelming success. Showing their appreciation of the dances and songs of the minorities the Peking population swamped them with requests for special performances. Standing room was difficult to get and enthusiastic students from local schools and universities often rushed into the open-air theater at four in the afternoon in order to get the best seats. The performance did not begin until seven in the evening.

For the audience these performances, rich in the cultural heritage of a formerly subjugated people, brought a new appreciation of the vastness and diversity of their nation. For both performer and onlooker each evening emphasized the growing kinship between the Han people and the many national minorities living within the borders of the People's Republic of China.

Letter from Shanghai

NOT long ago I received a letter from a friend in America who wanted to know something about China. In his words, "It's practically impossible to learn anything about the new government from the papers and magazines here. So give with a little bit of what's been going on."

* * *

Dear — —,

It's not easy to give you "a little bit of what's been going on" chiefly because so much has been going on.

What has happened is that for the first time this country has a government which is just that, a government for the ordinary guy. Despite all the rot you read it is a government of the people and for the people. The Chinese people and their government want to live in peace and build up this country. God knows this needs to be done what with the way the grafting Chiang crowd left it when they were booted out despite all their tons of US equipment and billions of dollars of aid. It's as simple as that. The people here want to remake their country, they want to get rid of feudalism and they want to make this a place fit to live in for everyone, not just for a handful of corrupt and worthless bureaucrats whose only interest was their own personal enrichment.

So what have they done? They've had a revolution and they've kicked out the gang that had been trampling on them: Chiang, the Four Big Families and the foreign imperialists. America once did that to the British imperialists and their own Chiang's of that day, the American Tories.

If anyone with half a brain reads what the present leaders of China say they will know that China is not jumping from a backward semi-colonial society to communism in one fell swoop. The goal is there but admittedly it is some way off. Right now the economy is a combination of state-owned and privately run business. Capitalism is encouraged and it is developing. This is necessary in the process of China passing through a stage resembling in some respects the Western development of capitalism.

However, private enterprise is for Chinese capitalism, which was not allowed to develop naturally under the heel of foreign domination. It is not for the imperialists (that's the only word fit to be used for what went on here before) who, with a handful of top Chinese helpers, wrung China dry for nearly 100 years. This doesn't mean foreign business has been squeezed out or is not allowed. Far from it. It means that foreigners have to conduct business under the same laws as the Chinese, not as before when they had the weight of the American, British, French, etc., army, navy and marines to throw around. Whoever heard of a country where foreigners owned and controlled the major industries, including public utilities and charged whatever the traffic would bear? That's what China was.

China is an agrarian country. In the old days roughly 70 to 80 percent of the land was in the hands of about 10 percent of the people. The cry of millions of land-hungry peasants, whose condition has been far worse than the poorest of American share-croppers, is being answered now. Land reform has resulted in a large-scale increase in agricultural output for this year. In fact, for the first time in about 200 years China did not have to import grain from abroad.

Industry is being developed, industry which will not depend on the whims and plans of foreign corporations and their lackeys. The very process of land reform will bring on a market of tens of millions of people for manufactured products. And as industrialization gets under way the workers have come into their own. From a group which had been beaten down and often murdered under America's good friend Chiang Kai-shek, they have become the leaders of their country. To work now, whether with one's hands or one's brain, is something to be proud of. The Chinese workers know what the score is now and that they are in for an era of hope and a better life.

Under the KMT, illiteracy was over 80 percent and nothing effective done about it. Today, it is being fought everywhere. Schools for workers and peasants, and more schools for children are being set up. The emphasis is on study and learning—all in sharp contrast to the old days when reading was "dangerous."

* * *

WHEN one begins to enumerate even "a little bit" of what is happening here it is difficult to keep it down to a minimum. There are so many things. A walk in the streets is a revelation. The curse of KMT inflation is ended, new bookstores are everywhere, sections of the city which were constantly flooded after a heavy rain because the old authorities didn't give a hoot are now being repaired, the police no longer kick a coolie, the pride of the common man in his government and its honesty, something the wiseacres said was impossible in China. Multiply all this by thousands of instances all over the country and you will know what is happening.

Reports about China in the American press, as you infer, are fantastic in their distortion. Seeing developments here first-hand and then reading the Western papers is an enlightening experience. From Hongkong and Taiwan, where the rumor mills are working overtime, every bit of gossip, every piece of "dope" passed on by some disgruntled refugee or grafting Kuomintang official longing for the old days is blown up as "news."

Here is a nation which is changing history and the pen prostitutes are only able to lie and distort the news. Rivers are being dammed, railroads are being built, factories are going up, an entire nation is becoming literate and a new society is growing up dedicated to the brotherhood of man but the hirelings of the "free press" are only able to report the gossip and rumors peddled by the remnant KMT and its hangers-on.

A Chinese student who recently returned from America told me that as far as the press is concerned all of China is controlled by the Russians. The motive behind such a ridiculous charge is obvious. Of course there are Russians here. They are technical advisors and just that. They have been asked to help in work on railroads and bridges and the Chinese make no secret of it. They welcome them because they are here to help in constructing a new country and not to take the wealth of the country.

Hitler's technique was the big lie and the American press is echoing him to the hilt. Anyone who was here after the war and saw Chiang's Wall Street "allies" behave could tell you a few things about "foreign control." The Americans let it be known who was boss. They had their own soldiers, sailors and marines. They had their own MP's and the Chinese authorities had no jurisdiction over any of them. Russians here, who are in far smaller numbers than the Americans ever were, are civilians and I can assure you they are orderly and, even more astonishing, are quiet to the point of shyness so that they are rarely ever seen.

* * *

TODAY American aggression in Asia is a direct threat to the Chinese people. What else can it be when after pouring billions into the never satiated Chiang gangsters the US government continues to protect them and sends its armies, under UN camouflage, pouring towards the borders of Manchuria? And just as the American press lies about what is happening in China today it is incapable of giving you any idea of how determined the people here are to protect and put an end to the threat to their new life.

This is only a letter and I find it difficult to answer even your minimum request in such a short space. However, I hope you have been answered to some extent and that this letter will serve in a small way to help counteract the flood of anti-China propaganda which is being fed the American people by those who have lost out in China but who will go to any lengths—including agitating for war—in an effort to regain their lost feeding trough.

— J. S.

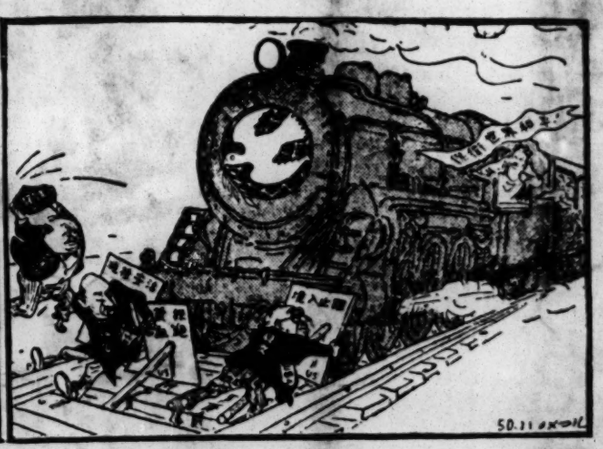
CARTOONS

OF THE MONTH

One of China's most famous cartoonists, Mi Ku, says, "God wants the American invaders in Korea to spend Thanksgiving and Christmas there."

PLA troops by entering Tibet are breaking up British and American schemes for that part of Chinese territory.

America is marching down the same road to war the Japanese took as it goes by the post reading "Asian Continent."



Commenting on Britain's behavior towards the World Peace Congress, this cartoon says that Bevin, Attlee, Churchill and their American backing can't stop the world peace drive.

America tries to spread the flames of war from the small house, Korea, to the big house, China. By putting out the fire China is "resisting American imperialism, helping Korea and safeguarding her own country."

While the "Voice of America" cries "no designs on China," Truman and MacArthur deny that the Yalu River is the dividing line between China and Korea.

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THE SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

Mayor Chen Yi's Report

CHEN Yi, Mayor of Shanghai, delivered the following speech on October 16, 1950 at the First Meeting of the Second Conference of Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles:

Representatives and Comrades:

Our First Meeting of the Second Conference of Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles is formally inaugurated today. Shanghai, like any other part of China, has undergone a number of important changes since the convening of the Third Meeting of the First Conference of Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles.

Mayor Chen Yi

These changes have proved to be beneficial to the people, as they took a turn from difficulties to improvements and from business stagnancy to briskness. However, these changes had been made possible only through the arduous struggles of the people of Shanghai in overcoming their numerous difficulties.

Just about the time of the convocation of the Third Meeting of the First Conference of Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles, Shanghai's industry and commerce encountered exceedingly difficult circumstances, which were by no means accidental. In the past, this city owed its existence and development entirely to imperialism, bureaucratic-capitalism and feudalism.

With the liberation of Shanghai, these three enemies had been crushed. In the process of reorganization of the economic mechanism of the state, Shanghai's economic position, which used to be fraught with parasitism, speculation and waste, could not but be seriously affected. Meanwhile, with currency stabilization, the false purchasing power which was built on the prerequisites of inflation, speculation, and hoarding has also disappeared.

The disappearance of this false purchasing power and the dislocations during the period of reorganization were what caused Shanghai to lose its superficial prosperity and to assume temporarily marked stringency and contraction which, in turn, presented many transitory, though serious, difficulties. Such evidences were to be found in the slackness of the commodity markets, suspensions of factories and business firms, flight of industrial and business entrepreneurs, as well as the prevalence of labor-capital disputes. However, since June, there has been a turning point in the situation, and by now, this favorable turn has become all the more apparent.

Conditions pointing to the favorable turn since last June may be viewed from the following aspects:

(1) Steady decrease in the number of factory and business suspensions, while more and more enterprises are being opened or resume operations;

(2) Production and sales have increased simultaneously, particularly in such staple products as cotton yarn, woollen yarn, cigarettes, matches, cement, and flour;

(3) The number of unemployed workers has gradually decreased;

(4) The interflow of economic transactions between Shanghai and other cities has multiplied steadfastly, with the scope of circulation of the JMP commensurably extended;

(5) Whereas there had been partial fluctuations in commodity prices during the past five months, yet, generally speaking, prices have remained comparatively steady, which afforded considerable protection to the people's livelihood;

(6) Among local industrial and commercial circles, some enterprises have also achieved self-sustenance, while others are beginning to make some profit, with the result that a good many of the entrepreneurs who fled to Hongkong during March and April have chosen to return to this city voluntarily.

* * *

HOW was it that within the short space of five months we were able to achieve a turn for the better from depression and difficulties?

First of all, the correct leadership of the Central People's Government must be pointed out. The principal foundations of Shanghai's economic change for the better consisted of the measures of the Central People's Government in centralizing the national economy and finance, in balancing the budget, in stabilizing commodity prices, and in readjusting industry and commerce. Without this background, any favorable turn would be inconceivable. At the same time the People's Government used processing, purchase orders, purchases, loans, etc. to assist private enterprises to tide over the crisis during the depression. In this connection, the functions of the policy of paying due regard to public and private concerns should be specially stressed.

Secondly, the liberation of the Choushan islands and the Chengssu islets by the PLA smashed the enemy blockade of Shanghai and the East China coast; while the bravery of our airforce stopped enemy bombing which enabled Shanghai's industries to gradually revive from difficulties caused by the February 6 bombing. Without these military victories, coastal trade and the revival of industry and commerce in Shanghai would be impossible.

Thirdly, during these hard times, we called upon the workers to be more frugal and patiently endure a lowering of their standard of living, so that it was possible for the industries to carry on at sustenance level. Steps were also taken among the privately-operated enterprises to reorganize and improve their management, which proved to be effective. Simultaneously, we have united with various circles to carry out unemployment relief. This measure not only furthered the unity among workers but also helped to minimize labor and capital disputes, thereby lessening the difficulties of industry and commerce.

Without the endurance of the working class, their spirit to surmount all difficulties, and the lead they took in forging unity in labor and capital relations, it would have been impossible to achieve the present turn for the better.

In addition, the following factors were also important in bringing about the favorable turn: bumper crops throughout the country, better transportation, irrigation works and relief to inundated areas, agrarian reforms which increased the buying power of the peasants.

We must try to understand fully that this turn for the better is only an initial one in the process of which new difficulties and setbacks are bound to arise. For example, many enterprises have become unduly optimistic and resort blindly to resuming work and business, and even expanding output. Though the markets are open again, yet in some cases, there is already a shortage of raw materials. Unless rational adjustments are made, production may stop again. Some opportunists with idle capital are hoarding goods for speculation because of the present international situation, and the prospect of an increased volume of trade from the countryside due to the bumper crops in the autumn months.

Certain unscrupulous capitalists clamored for government aid but ignored or evaded the attendant obligations. Such undesirable phenomenon should be rectified.

Since things are getting better, the wages and general welfare of the workers should be given careful attention in order to consolidate unity in striving for a still better tendency. On the contrary, to demand more from the workers at this time is not proper. And not to pay regard to what the workers are entitled to get, not to put management on a rationalized basis, and not to give due consideration to the workers will be even worse.

All the above-mentioned deviations and difficulties, if not corrected and solved, would hinder the development of Shanghai's economy, which has begun to improve.

With regard to the international situation, the strength of democracy and of the peoples in the world is growing so steadily that any war-instigating activities of the imperialists will certainly be defeated by the masses of the people. But we should by no means slacken our vigilance toward imperialistic provocation! The Korean war proved the bravery of the Korean people and also exposed the weakness of the imperialists. The valiant struggle of the Korean people is a great contribution to the fight for world peace and the curbing of imperialist aggression. It deserves our sympathy and support. It can be predicted that the Korean people will defeat US imperialism in the persistent war protracted hereafter!

* * *

THIS is the situation under which the First Session of the Second Conference of Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles is convened. It is an easier situation compared with the time when the third meeting of the First Conference of Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles was convened. Nevertheless, the task of this meeting is more important than all the previous meetings.

The representatives of this meeting are mostly elected on a consultative basis. Only a small number of representatives are invited. Inasmuch as the representatives of this meeting are more representative

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in character than those of the previous sessions, they should be more effective in expediting the work in Shanghai hereafter.

At this meeting, reports will be made on industry, commerce, city administration, unemployment relief, labor-capital relations and cultural and educational work. Shanghai is the industrial and commercial center of China, and, at the same time, a big metropolis which occupies an important position in the nation's culture and education. We ought to begin to emphasize the importance of culture and education in the hope that such work may be popularized and improved.

In accordance with the organic regulations on municipal conferences of people's representatives of all circles promulgated by the Central People's Government, and with the approval of the Government Administration Council, the current conference will act in behalf and carry out the functions of a people's congress, namely,

(1) To elect the mayor, vice-mayor and the members of the Municipal People's Government Council;

(2) To decide on the direction and policy of the city administration;

(3) To examine and approve the budget of the city government;

(4) To make suggestions and to take decisions pertaining to municipal affairs.

As the function and tasks of this conference are more important than the previous conferences, I hope the representatives will be prudent in electing the mayor and approving reports on various work.

Furthermore, the term of the municipal consultative committee has now expired and it is for the present conference to consider the nomination or election of new members to the committee in order to assist the government in expediting its work. As for other urgent problems, about which suggestions by the delegates here are welcome, these should be presented to the government for enforcement following discussion by the conference.

The formation of the municipal people's government after the election will further expand democracy in so far as its relations with the people are concerned, and will serve to establish a closer link with the people's revolutionary bodies. The administration will be based on the decisions reached by the people's representatives conference of all circles as well as the opinions of the people to be gathered extensively by means of criticism and self-criticism.

The bureaucratism and authoritarianism in the style of work of some of the government personnel will be corrected so as to solidify the unity with the masses of the people and thereby increase the power of the People's Government.

At the same time, the municipal people's government will not hesitate to suppress the imperialist elements and the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek brigands resolutely and seriously with the power at its command entrusted by the people.

As Chairman Mao has time and again warned us, the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek brigands will not accept their defeat so easily. They will never give up their hope of staging a comeback. They will on the contrary spread rumors among the people by all sorts of means and seek to deceive and agitate the people to fight against the people's government. These counter-revolutionary elements must be suppressed with all seriousness in order to effectively ensure the democratic rights of the people.

Since the liberation of Shanghai, we have suppressed the chief agents of the Chiang brigands, but we have adopted a more lenient policy toward the minor accomplices so that they will repent and actually render meritorious service so as to be pardoned for their crimes. These steps taken by us are correct. But it must be pointed out here that we will not tolerate and will deal sternly with those elements who not only prove themselves ungrateful for the clemency of the people's government but take advantage of it and continue their activities against the people.

All in all, through the election at the present conference, the mission of the municipal people's government is to advance a step further in better establishing in Shanghai the Chinese people's democratic dictatorship on the basis of the excellent work already performed.

This, in effect, is also the historical mission to be fulfilled by the present people's representatives' conference of all circles.

The Shanghai people's experiences of struggle in the past year, particularly in the past five months, have increased our confidence in unity, in the collective strength to surmount difficulties and to forge ahead along the correct path directed by Chairman Mao.

We must make the people's representatives' conference of all circles a great success, increase the unity of the people of all circles in Shanghai, and strive to effect a change for the better in the economic life of Shanghai. We must also develop the people's democracy and seriously suppress counter-revolution.

If the economic life in Shanghai should continue to improve and the unity of the people in Shanghai continue to solidify, it will have a most important bearing on anti-imperialist aggression and the building of a New China.

—Shanghai News Translation

Hsu Ti-hsin's Report on Conditions of Industry and Commerce in Shanghai

HSU Ti-hsin, Director of the Bureau of Industry and Commerce in Shanghai, made the following report at the First Session of the Second People's Representatives' Conference of All Circles in Shanghai on October 16, 1950:

Dear Representatives:

Five months have elapsed since the close of the Third Session of the First Conference of People's Representatives of All Circles. Since then a marked turn has been witnessed—a turn from difficulties to steady recovery.

Hsu Ti-hsin

At the time of the last conference quite a number of friends were greatly concerned over the conditions of industry and commerce in Shanghai. Depression prevailed, with a slack market, and factories and shops were heavily in debt, many being forced to suspend business and operations.

According to statistics of the Bureau of Industry and Commerce, the number of factories and shops which applied for permission to suspend business in January totaled 159; in February, 161; in March, 243; in April, 389; in May, 502, and those which applied for permission to close business in January totaled 363; in February 349; in March 796; in April, 1,567; and in May 2,947.

There were about 12,000 factories in this city, of which 1,454 were suspended during these five months, being more than 10 percent. Among 100,000 odd business establishments here, over 6,000, or about 6 percent of the total, closed. It was indeed a very precarious situation, which got worse from month to month.

The number of factories and business houses that closed or suspended business during April and May reached alarming proportions. The situation was further aggravated by the flight at that juncture of many industrialists and merchants who were impatient over the situation.

The People's Government, being deeply concerned with the situation, pointed out unequivocally that these difficulties were inevitable, since Shanghai's economy had developed in the past under conditions dependent upon imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism, and upon the foundation of false prosperity with currency inflation and commercial speculation as its main basis.

Since liberation, especially since the centralized control over economy and finance was achieved, these conditions disappeared. Consequently, those economic and financial organizations which formerly derived their existence and prosperity from currency inflation and speculative activities, or depended on imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, had all lost ground. Thus the pathological conditions of the semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic economy were fully exposed on account of the drastic change of the prerequisites.

As Shanghai's economy was dependent on this triad of evils as well as currency inflation and speculative activities far more than any other place, it could not but encounter all the more serious difficulties as fundamental changes took place.

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IN order to solve the difficulties of private capital, and in order to enable private capital to play its part under the direction of state economy, the People's Government helped private industries to carry on production as required by the popular economy by placing orders with them, assigning processing work and other forms of assistance.

Since May, these aids were extended systematically on an increasing scale. Does this imply that before then, the People's Government did not pay regard to private enterprises? No, it was not so. Take for instance, two simple cases. Since liberation to the end of last April, the balance of loans granted to private enterprises by the East China People's Bank of China and the jointly operated public and private banking institutions amounted to JMP 264,400,000,000. From August, 1949, to the end of May 1950, processing work for 44,929 bales of cotton yarn, and 973,802 bolts of cotton cloth were assigned to the

cotton mills and weaving factories throughout East China by the state-owned Cotton Yarn and Cloth Corporation.

In can thus be seen that the People's Government has always had the interests of private enterprises in mind. In the past, the cadres responsible for this work failed to tackle these problems from the standpoint of paying due regard to both public and private interests under a centralized plan, and consequently omitted to overhaul private capital properly.

Since the Central People's Government decided to readjust energetically the relations between public and private enterprises, the plan of assigning processing work, placing of orders and granting of loans has been carried out on an extensive scale. As far as Shanghai is concerned, orders for processing 134,009 bales of cotton yarn and 1,571,159 bolts of cotton cloth were assigned to the local cotton textile industry by the state-owned Cotton Yarn and Cloth Corporation, from May to September. The orders for goods placed and processing work assigned to private enterprises by the Ministry of Industry during May to September amounted to 23,605,255.78 parity deposit units. During the same period, the volume of business alloted to the jointly operated public and private enterprises amounted to P.D.U. 17,952,996.52.

The loans granted to private enterprises by the People's Bank of China, public operated banks and jointly operated public and private banks, up to the end of September, increased to JMP 361,838,000,000.

By these methods of assistance—assignment of processing work, placing of orders, purchases and loans, a number of essential enterprises of production were enabled to maintain themselves and to tide over difficulties.

Further, legitimate private business houses have been enabled to make reasonable profits through price adjustments. For instance, there was only a difference of 2.5 percent between wholesale and retail prices of foodstuffs, cotton yarn and cloth, edible oil, salt, etc. before May. With this 2.5 percent profit, the merchants found themselves unable to defray their overhead after paying the business tax. Since the readjustment, the differences between retail and wholesale prices of the above goods were raised to six to 20 percent, thereby enabling retail merchants to clear a net profit of from two to 10 percent, after meeting their expenses. Adjustments were also made in wholesale and retail prices between Shanghai and the hinterland.

Apart from these aids, (assigning processing work, placing orders, purchases, and adjusting prices), the persistent efforts made by the government in purchasing agricultural products from the countryside also played an important part in the revival of Shanghai's economy. For instance, a brisk market was reported in the various towns south of the Yangtze because the prices fixed by the government for purchasing cocoons were reasonably high and this year's cocoon crop was good. In turn, this condition boosted the market for industrial goods produced in Shanghai.

Under the premises of stabilized financial conditions and commodity prices, the great efforts of the People's Government in readjusting relations between public and private enterprises and between industries and businesses and in rationalizing burdens have enabled the industries and businesses in various places, especially in Shanghai, to take a turn for the better beginning from June this year. This turn for the better may be gauged from the following facts:

(1) Increasing production and consumption of commodities:

Taking the April output as base (100), the output of cotton yarn in August was 112; cement, 218; flour, 524; cotton cloth 170; paper, 781; machinery, 4,062.

Consumption has also assumed a steady rise. Comparing sales in August with output in the same month, we see that the sale of cotton yarn was 112 percent of the output; cement, 998 percent; flour, 123 percent; cotton cloth 99 percent; paper, 104 percent. This shows that the stagnancy of the market in the months of March and April has undergone a change.

(2) Decreasing number of suspended factories and firms and increasing number of newly established and resumed factories and firms:

Of the factories which applied for suspension of operation, there were 158 in June; 50 in July; 62 in August; and 46 in September.

Of commercial establishments which applied for suspension of business, there were 790 in June; 223 in July; 235 in August; and 114 in September.

Of the factories which resumed operation, there were three in May; 29 in June; 87 in July; 93 in August; and 121 in September; while, of the commercial establishments which resumed business, there were 22 in May; 142 in June; 142 in July; 115 in August; and 97 in September.

Of newly opened factories there were two in May; 14 in June; 41 in July; 90 in August; and 163 in September, while of newly opened commercial establishments, there were 72 in May; 196 in June; 405 in July; 786 in August; and 1,033 in September.

(3) Steady increase of interflow of goods between Shanghai and other places:

According to the statistics of the Navigation Bureau and the Shanghai Railway Administration, the interflow of goods between Shanghai and other places is as follows: Tonnage of incoming freight to Shanghai by water during August showed an increase of 25 percent compared with that in April, while the tonnage of outgoing freight registered an increase of 133 percent. Tonnage of freight to Shanghai by rail during August showed an increase of five percent compared with that in April, although the tonnage of freight transported out of Shanghai registered a slight decrease.

(4) Gradual briskness of financial market due to increasing volume of output and sales:

Take for instance the number of checks passed through the clearing house. The number in July showed an increase of 58 percent compared with that in April, while that in August increased 13 percent as compared with July. In April, the daily amount of checks exchanged averaged JMP 100,000,000,000 and, in special cases, it could reach no more than 160-170,000,000,000. But, since August, the daily amount has long broken the record of JMP 200,000,000,000 and usually reached the height of 300,000,000,000, while recently, in certain special cases, it even hit the mark of 400,000,000,000.

Domestic remittances between Shanghai and other ports have also become more frequent. The balance of remittances shows that the outflowing volume has exceeded the inflowing. The volume of deposits and loans has also been growing both in public and private banks.

* * *

REPRESENTATIVES and comrades: The industry and commerce in Shanghai has shown a turn for the better. But does it mean that everything has gone on smoothly and no more problems exist? No. In our forward march, we still have difficulties ahead. These difficulties are manifested in the following facts:

(1) Working cadres in the sphere of state economy have not exerted their best to supervise the reforms of private enterprises through the medium of the readjustment of relations between public and private enterprises. At the same time, our friends in private enterprises have also had certain erroneous views. They forget that there should be "differences" among the five components of social economy, thinking that "taking into account both public and private interests" means "equal shares," and "giving equal consideration" means "even distribution."

On the one hand, they demand processing orders and loans from the government, but, on the other hand, they take a wait-and-see attitude toward public bonds and taxation. Although fully capable of paying for bonds and taxes, they resort to procrastination and sometimes even tax evasion.

On the one hand, they ask for various kinds of support from the government, but, on the other hand, they continue to keep their stupendous organizations and persist in antiquated methods of management and speculative business policies.

These people fail to understand clearly the nature of public and private industrial and commercial enterprises. Vice-Premier Chen Yun has rightly said: "The purpose of readjusting relations between public and private enterprises is to assure the leading role of state economy, while allowing private capitalist economy to play its proper part under the leadership of the state economy." We hope that our friends in the industrial and commercial circles will firmly grasp this spirit.

(2) Due to the improvement in market conditions, many firms are rushing to resume business or opening new establishments with a view to making profit. Certain industries which are superfluous also make plans for expansion. This represents blind production and planless expansion and activities. Nothing very serious seems to have arisen from this mad optimism, but should this situation be allowed to develop unchecked, problems are bound to arise in Shanghai's economy.

(3) Aside from the efforts of the government in stabilizing currency and prices, in readjusting relations between public and private enterprises, in readjusting and equalizing the burden of taxation, and aside from the factor of higher purchasing power of the peasants due to good harvests, all of which have contributed to the briskness of market conditions, one more factor which should not be ignored is the activities of speculators.

Of course their activities are entirely different from those in the past. They dare no longer question the stability of the people's currency, but they take advantage of the international situation and rumors spread by secret agents and bandits, as well as increased purchasing power in the rural districts, to resort to hoarding goods and disturbing the market, thereby helping to bring about the "scissors" difference between industrial goods and agricultural products. Such a tendency is bound to affect our economic development and deserves our full attention.

In addition, the problems of industrial raw materals, new labor-

capital relations and relations between shareholders are brewing and developing. These problems, if not tackled in time, will affect or even hinder the progress of our industry and commerce.

* * *

AT this juncture when things are turning for the better, we must not be deluded by our successes so as to overlook the difficulties that may be awaiting us, nor should we be disconcerted by the difficulties. We must realize that these difficulties are unavoidable in the course of our development, but are surmountable. The secret of overcoming these difficulties lies in rallying around the Central People's Government, carrying out resolutely the policy of division and coordination of labor and centralized planning and paying due regard to both the public and private interests under the direction of the state economy, as laid down by Chairman Mao.

Friends of the industrial and commercial circles must know that private capital in new democracies can achieve reasonable development only when it is led by the state economy, when its production serves not for commercial speculative activities but the demand of popular economy, when it observes the principles as laid down at the third conference of representatives in tightening up organization, in reforming out-of-date methods of management, in discarding speculative business policy, in obtaining good results at labor-capital consultative meetings, in carrying out resolutely the laws and decrees of the government, in planning most carefully for the service of the masses and for higher production.

Only when certain concrete problems are studied and tackled in time, can we ensure the smooth development of industry and commerce, which has just achieved a turn for the better.

Dear representatives, your criticism of my report is welcome.

—Shanghai News Translation

Ma Shun-ku's Report on Present Labor-Capital Relations in Shanghai

MA Shun-ku, Director of the Labor Bureau of the Shanghai People's Government, submitted the following report at the First Session of the Second People's Representatives' Conference of All Circles in Shanghai on **October 16, 1950:**

Chairman, representatives, and Comrades:

It is with boundless satisfaction that I present to you a brief report on labor-capital relations during the past few months and on certain main problems existing today.

Ma Shun-ku

Since the last meeting of the People's Representatives' Conference, both labor and capital in Shanghai worked actively to establish labor-capital consultative councils under the correct call of the People's Government and with the help and efforts of the Shanghai General Trade Union, the Shanghai Industrial and Commercial Association and other organizations concerned.

The relations between labor and capital have been greatly improved, with an end put to the otherwise tense situation obtaining last March and April, in line with the readjustment of public and private relations and the relief of unemployed workers. In this way, the improved relations contributed much to maintaining production and overcoming difficulties.

The present change for the better in industry and commerce on the whole is therefore intimately connected with the functions of the labor-capital consultative councils.

According to data concerning registrations made and records with the Labor Bureau, 503 consultative bodies among the different categories of trades and factories and stores have been set up, as of the end of September, in the space of five months or more.

Out of this number, 73 were formed by trade guilds while 430 were based on factory and store units. All of these consultative councils yielded results.

An investigation was made by us among 46 factory and store consultative councils towards the end of August and it was revealed that these consultative councils met 320 times; that is to say, an average of seven meetings for each consultative council. There were some 279 proposals submitted at these councils (168 from labor and 111 from capital) and agreements reached numbered 163. Only 11 cases failed to be solved at the consultative councils. These were later solved with the assistance of guild consultative councils or submitted to the Labor Bureau for mediation and settlement. In addition, 105 cases are still pending.

These figures prove that labor-capital consultative councils will have the effect of improving relations between both parties. Usually these councils commence their deliberations with a view to surmounting difficulties and seeking a solution to disputes. Now they have developed, in some cases, into the signing of production contracts, self-sustaining production agreements and other agreements.

Other consultations seek to improve labor discipline and to raise production, while still others seek to reform inflated organizations for the purpose of establishing prerequisites for rational management. For example, in the case of the Tai Chung Industrial Society, consultations were entered upon at first to solve financial difficulties, then to achieve self-sustenance and finally to bring about a favorable and profitable balance.

The Hsieh Chung Sewing Machine Factory raised its output by 100 percent after the signing of a production contract between labor and capital. The Mayar Silk Factory, on the other hand, reduced its staff and fixed the number of its personnel, cut down operation expenses and cost of production by over 10,000 parity deposit units.

These cases, aiming as they did at greater production, illustrate the success of democratic consultation between labor and capital.

The consultative councils among the private enterprises in Shanghai have achieved some results. Nevertheless, can it be said that labor and capital have realized correctly the meaning of such consultation? Are all the consultations conducted with a view to achieving productive aims or in a democratic way? Furthermore, are the councils without flaws whatsoever? No.

In point of fact, many consultations did not fully identify themselves with production needs. There are a number of people among both labor and capital who still do not realize the importance of these consultations. They are only bent on solving problems for their own advantage. Some among capital are bent on getting more government processing orders and enlisting the support and aid of the workers.

Among labor, some regard the consultations as a means to surmount difficulties, settle disputes and solve such problems as welfare and wages, and have not sufficiently realized that the keynote of the consultations should be production. This is inseparable from the fact that labor and capital have not studied properly the relevant documents nor have they grasped the spirit of the consultations.

According to investigations made by the Labor Bureau, out of 46 consultative councils among private enterprises only 17 labor representations and 12 capital representations have Regulations Governing Labor-Capital Consultative Councils for Private Enterprises in Shanghai.

On the other hand, education and publicity work done by the Labor Bureau and other authorities concerned have been in no way sufficient. Consultations should be centered on production. Labor and capital should study how to solve problems step by step. On the whole, labor is not too well acquainted with business problems while capital is not quite conversant with the problems of production.

It must be pointed out that in order to make the consultations a success it is important to have both labor and capital get down to realities, be sincere and frank on the basis of the spirit of democracy and equality and mutual benefit.

Whoever treats the other party with the old tricks of using confusing language, evasion, attacks and sarcastic criticism will only sabotage the purposes of the consultation councils and be detrimental to production.

Owing to the achievements made by the People's Government in the readjustment of industry and commerce, in the improvement of relations between public and private enterprises and labor-capital relations, the situation in industry and commerce in Shanghai has begun to turn for the better steadily. But there are still some difficulties to be overcome.

The reforms made in a number of industries still fall short of requirements. A section of the enterprises are still unable to carry on on a self-sustenance basis, while many others have not yet been fully revived. The number of unemployed and semi-unemployed are still great.

In the enterprises where conditions have taken a turn for the better, new questions have developed in the relations between labor and capital. Unless both labor and capital adopt a realistic and careful attitude toward these questions and resort to consultations while observing the policy of the government the improvement in business conditions achieved so far will be affected, which would be disadvantageous to all concerned.

The new questions consist principally of the following:

(1) Question Pertaining to Wages and Bonus.

Following the improvement in conditions of production, and the increase of working enthusiasm among the working class, different opinions on the question of wages and treatment have arisen in a certain section of enterprises among the workers and management. This situation greatly affected the production conditions, which have just begun to turn for the better while difficulties have not yet been fully overcome.

The question of wages and treatment should be handled most carefully and in a unified manner on the principles of due consideration for the livelihood of the workers, the development of production, the effect upon the entire factory or works, trade and industry, the city and the nation as a whole, as well as the production technique. And any decisions in this regard should only be carried out after approval by the Labor Bureau.

In order to consolidate and continue to heighten productive enthusiasm, it is necessary to adopt a suitable system of bonus. But the standard of bonus should not be fixed until production quotas can be reliably assured. Corrections must be made to the systems now being adopted by certain enterprises which use production bonus as a modified means for general increase in wages, and in dividing the profits without any principle and limitation. For in this way, the development of reproduction is affected, and business conditions which have just begun to turn for the better will suffer.

It may give a stimulus to production temporarily but the effect will be short-lived, and in the long run it will prove to be disadvantageous to production as well as to both labor and capital.

Corrections must also be made to certain deviations displayed by certain units in the method of dividing bonuses. They simply distribute the bonuses pro rata per worker, without giving regard to technique and the record of work of individual workers. It gives no proper encouragement to those workers who have made special contributions toward the industry, and therefore it ignores the aims for which it is designed.

Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi, in a speech delivered at the conference of cadres held to mark the occasion of Labor Day, on May 1, at Peking, directed that: "We must give the workers, especially those labor heroes and inventors who have made great inventions and creations, the glory that is due them."

On August 16, the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government, also published its decision with regard to giving encouragement to inventions, improvement of technique and proposals on rationalization in connection with production.

Both the direction of Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the decision of the Government Administration Council are of prime importance, and therefore deserve our serious attention.

Based on this principle, we must henceforth set up bonus systems in accordance with the rule of "more work, more pay," and give encouragement to those workers, technicians and staff members who have made inventions in connection with production, or improvements to technique and process of work, or have made proposals of rationalization, or have brought up the quality of production, economized on raw materials, or reduced cost of production and observed labor discipline. Thus it will serve to arouse their enthusiasm and creative genius so that they may be induced to give their knowledge, experience and talents full scope to hasten the revival and development of productive enterprises.

In order that we may be guided by a set of definite rules with regard to the handling of questions on wages and bonus, the Labor Bureau submits for the deliberation and approval of the conference a draft resolution on the question of wages and production bonuses in factories and industries.

(2) Regarding Resumption of Work and Retrenchment.

After the February 6 bombing, both industry and commerce faced serious difficulties. It became inevitable that some units had to suspend, liquidate or resort to partial retrenchment, while temporary dispersement or discharge of staff were even imperative. At present, industry and commerce have begun to improve gradually.

Those industrial and commercial establishments that have obtained sufficient means to resume production should not procrastinate, but should hold labor-capital consultations at once to hasten resumption of operation, while those industrial and commercial establishments that are unable to resume business all at once, should adopt the measures for gradual resumption, as reckless and total resumption will only increase difficulties and will be disadvantageous to both labor and capital.

At the same time, it ought to be pointed out that at present, although indusry and commerce in Shanghai have begun to improve gradually in general, there are nevertheless sitll a number of industrial and commercial enterprises that are confronted with difficulties due to lack of raw materials, or temporary over-production resulting from stagnant markets, or overstaffed machinery which awaits rationalization. Thus the problem of surplus labor power remains to be solved. The management of such enterprises should definitely take up the responsibility. Besides, such enterprises should still adopt such measures as dispersal of employees to their native places, working in turns, reduction of wages or salary, or retaining of jobs without remuneration, in order to tide over difficulties and to preserve the enterprise for future production.

In some individual cases, when the factory or firm has no immediate prospect for revival within a short period, both labor and capital should hold consultations patiently for temporary dispersement or even release of the workers or for transfering them to other occupations. The management should carefully consider the plight of the employees and not simply get rid of them; the employees should also face the situation realistically, enhance their technical study for other vocations and seek other productive posts.

(3) Regarding Factory Safety and Sanitation.

Since the second meeting of the first People's Representatives' Conference adopted the Organic Regulations of the Factory Safety and Sanitation Committee in Shanghai last year, the Labor Bureau, together with other relevant units, organized a Safety and Sanitation Committee and carried out some investigation, publicity and mobilization work at key points, and generally speaking, aroused the attention of both labor and capital and other circles of society.

For example, after investigation, both labor and capital in the textile, machine building and chemical trades gave attention to the matter and made fundamental improvements. Accidents and casualities have been serious among the industries of Shanghai. According to incomplete figures, from September 1949 to September 1950, there were 1,041 accidents and out of 1,171 casualties 50 proved fatal. This should be regarded as our greatest loss. A certain machine building factory, within the period from January to May 1950, had 48 workers on the casualty list. The factory had to suspend work on account of so many casualties and sustained a loss of 325 man-days, paid 1,337.92 parity units in unproductive wages, not to mention the medical expenses and the decrease in output caused by suspension of work. This should be an illuminating example.

In order to improve factory safety and sanitation, the standpoint of "paying attention to the machine, not the man," prevailing in some enterprises should first be corrected. The responsible personnel of some enterprises do not have a sufficiently clear view of the fact or do not adequately realize that by improving factory safety and sanitation, the enthusiasm of the workers can be aroused and production stimulated. The workers, who have been oppressed by a hard life for a long time, who have long worked under inadequate labor conditions, generally speaking, do not realize fully the significance of safety and sanitation. Many of their old habits cannot be corrected all at once; labor regulations have not been duly observed, thereby leading to accidents and casualties.

We suggest that within various factories safety and sanitation committees should be formed gradually with the participation of the management, union, technicians, medical personnel and active workers or staff members. The equipment should be investigated periodically and improvement plans mapped out. So far as everybody takes a serious and responsible attitude, many problems pertaining to safety and sanitation can be solved. Under present economic conditions, priority should be given those improvements that are urgent and require little or no money while other comparatively larger tasks should be carried out later, periodically, as economic conditions improve.

According to the experience of Northeast China and Shanghai, 80 percent of the safety and sanitation improvement work can be carried out without much expense. The draft provisional regulations governing factory sanitation made by the Labor Ministry of the Central People's Government, which is generally applicable under present conditions, should be vigorously promoted by all.

Therefore, we hope that, based on the principle of "10 percent of production, one percent of welfare," the various factories and enterprises will improve, step by step, and in a planned way, their construction, machines, fire-extinguishing equipment, mess halls, lavatories and bathrooms; institute workers' welfare measures such as cooperatives, schools for workers' children and nurseries; and pay attention to the workers' health, enhance disease prevention and clinic service in order to reach the goal of "protecting labor for developing production."

(4) Concerning the Question of Working Regulations, System of Rewards and Punishment, and Labor Contracts.

The improvement of industrial and economic conditions at present requires both labor and capital to pay due regard to the question of working regulations. According to the experiences of the Labor Bureau in settling disputes, a great number of disputes were caused by the absence of definite and rational working regulations and the system of reward and punishment.

In other words, this chaotic condition arises from the fact that old regulations are no longer applicable while the new are waiting to be formulated. Therefore, it is only with the formulation of working regulations and a system of reward and punishment, stipulating the specific obligations of both labor and capital, legally binding both, that there can be scope for observance in all spheres of activities in the production field by both labor and capital.

Of course, the formulation of these rules must not be unilateral. They must be formulated through the consultative council of labor and capital, and must be approved by the Labor Bureau before enforcement. To provide some standard for the different industries and trades in formulating such rules, we comit to the present conference a set of

draft measures for the reference of Shanghai industries and commerce in formulating their working regulations and system of reward and punishment. We hope that you will endorse and pass these draft measures.

As to labor contracts, it must be a spontaneous matter and be drafted by leading workers of basic trade unions and approved by the higher trade union, on the basis of safeguarding the smooth functioning of the processes of production and the completion of the tasks of production.

The workers since liberation have made great progress in observing labor discipline, in displaying unusual enthusiasm as masters of their own affairs, in making important and productive contributions. But among some of the industries, the slackening of labor discipline has become very serious and needs immediate rectification.

The management of some of the factories were very careless in meeting government orders and purchases, causing great losses to the government. Both the trade union and the workers concerned failed to fulfil their supervising duties beforehand, nor did they report to the relevant government departments. In some cases, the workers took advantage of the urgency of the orders to make demands for wage increases, thereby forgetting the obligations of the working class.

After the formulation of the working regulations, system of reward and punishment and labor contract, we believe the present chaotic and anarchic state of things existing in some industries and factories will be overcome and production will be further promoted.

* * *

IN short, in the course of improvement of industrial and business conditions, new problems in the relations between labor and capital will be inevitable. For consolidating the favorable turn, and to strive for further improvement, both labor and capital must observe the principle of "promoting production for the mutual benefit of labor and capital" and the spirit of democracy and equality so that matters concerning wages, reward, resumption of work, retrenchment, factory safety and health provisions, working regulations and system of reward and punishment may be satisfactorily settled through the labor-capital consultative councils, with the primary aim of developing production. Both parties should discuss the ways and means of recovery and development of production, the fulfilment of the task of accepting government processing orders, reforming the machinery of enterprises, the raising of technique, quality of products, as well as economizing on raw materials, on the basis of the above-mentioned principle and spirit.

In conclusion, based on the experience gained during the past year in China as a whole and Shanghai in particular, the rational settlement of all these questions can only be brought about by concluding some indispensable collective contract or agreements in conformity with the Provisional Measures Governing the Conclusion of Collective Agreement Between Labor and Capital as drawn up by the All-China Federation of Labor.

Of course, it is rather difficult to conclude a general collective contract covering all the vital questions at a time when production is still in a state of instability. But from what is simple to what is complicated, from what is partial to what is all-covering and from what is temporary to what is permanent, we can conclude various kinds of collective contracts or agreements. Only by entering into contracts can the relations between labor and capital be stabilized and made normal, paving the way for the development of emulation drives.

Jointly with the General Trade Union and the Industrial and Commercial Association and other agencies concerned, we are ready to help both labor and capital to proceed with these tasks in order to establish step by step the democratic, equal, mutual-benefiting relationship between the two parties in the form of a contract with a view to maintaining and restoring production.

—Shanghai News Translation

Report on Cultural and Educational Work in Shanghai

THE following report was made by Hsia Yen, Director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of Shanghai at the First Session of the Second Conference of People's Representatives of All Circles in Shanghai.

Representatives:

On behalf of the Bureau of Education, Bureau of Cultural Affairs and the Press and Publication Office of the Shanghai Municipal People's government, I wish to report to the conference on the cultural and educational work in Shanghai and the direction of future endeavors. Your examination, deliberation, and comments will be appreciated.

I. Introductory

Before presenting my report, however, I wish to point out the peculiar features of the cultural, and educational work in Shanghai.

(1) Being the biggest city in the country, Shanghai became the main center and bastion of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism which subjected the Chinese people to long-term enslavement. Here for years the reactionary cliques at home and abroad exerted their utmost in carrying on their deceptive propaganda work and in sowing imperialistic ideology in the minds of the people of Shanghai, including the city's intelligentsia.

The most reactionary and degrading "culture and art," of American imperialism in particular, became the most influential.

Hsia Yen

(2) Nevertheless, Shanghai remains today as it was in the past the center for culture, education, press and publishing enterprises in the nation. For example, the publishing companies in Shanghai roughly constitute 75 percent or more of the nation's total publishing business. The overall number of schools in Shanghai is above 2,500. Most of the private colleges, middle schools, and primary schools are to be found here. In addition, the private-owned newspapers, periodicals, broadcasting stations, theaters and film producers in Shanghai reach a peak figure. The scope of the work on culture and education in the city hence assumes large dimensions.

(3) Prior to the liberation, the reactionary clique at home and abroad resorted to represession and suppression as far as cultural and educational work was concerned. Added to this was the fact that public and private cultural and educational enterprises felt the impact of the destruction caused by the war lasting more than a decade, and economic anarchy. None of these enterprises could escape from extreme poverty and depression.

It has been no easy task therefore to maintain, consolidate and develop these huge and complicated enterprises in Shanghai within the short period after liberation.

On account of the above-mentioned peculiarities it was especially important in the past 16 months to advance steadily step by step so as to effect a reform and unite the masses of the intelligentsia provided that one did not go to extermes and no disturbance was caused to the original institutions.

Following this correct path and under the leadership of the Central People's Government, the East China Military and Administrative Committee and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government, the cultural and educational institutions in the city have been taken over by us and many technicians, professors, writers, journalists, publishers and teachers in middle and primary schools have been united and organized. Aid has been given to private institutions. The trying March-April period of this year has passed safely. The foundation for Shanghai's cultural and educational enterprises has been laid for further expansion.

This is made possible only by the correct policies enumerated above and the support and cooperation given by the masses of the cultural and educational workers in Shanghai.

II. Education, Culture and the Press

Now we shall touch upon the report outlining the work, more especially in the past six months, on education, culture and the press since the take-over.

(1) Educational Work

Since the re-opening of the schools last spring, efforts have been continued and attention focussed on the following tasks: to reform the public and private schools, to raise the standard of teaching, to unite and reform the teachers and to surmount difficulties in the maintenance of the schools. These educational activities were based on the policy of the Central People's Government of raising the cultural level of the people, training of personnel for national construction work, liquidation of feudal, compradore, fascist ideology and development of the ideology of serving the people.

In this period the main tasks have been as follows:

(A) Overcoming the Difficulties of School Maintenance

Economic difficulties following the February 6 air-raid seriously affected the smooth running of the private schools. By concerted and coordinated action and repeated discussions and study among the Bureau

of Education and the Students' Union and the local working committee of the China New Democratic Youth League, and repeated consultations among the representatives of teachers and students on the question of overcoming difficulties, some principles regarding the collection of school fees for the spring semester were formulated as follows:

(1) Overcoming difficulties on the basis of solidarity between the teachers and students; (2) Paying due regard to the interests of the school, the teachers and the students through democratic consultation; (3) Making the budget properly by resorting to austerity measures; (4) Rationalizing income and expenditure as well as exemption or reduction of tuition.

On the other hand, the Bureau of Education, together with the Students' Union and the local working committee of the China New Democratic Youth League, issued an extensive call among the students, urging them to cherish their own schools, to effect cooperation between teachers and students, and to mobilize the students to pay up their tuition fees (over 1,000,000 parity deposit units of arrears among the colleges and schools were collected during March, April and May in this way). At the same time, many students, really unable to pay, were either granted scholarships or were granted a reduction of fees by the method of democratic appraisal.

We also called on the responsible executives of private schools and their teachers to be economical and to simplify their administrative machinery, to make public their school budget, to push on their educational work as well as to gain the confidence and support of the community and the parents of the students. We also furnished some concrete experiences of private schools in surmounting their difficulties for the reference of others.

In this way, the great majority of Shanghai's private schools managed to tide over difficult times in March and April on the principle of cooperation between the teachers and students as well as self-dependence. According to statistics, in March there were nearly 42 private middle schools and 118 private primary schools which had been on the verge of suspension. If this had been allowed to happen, the number of students thrown out of schools would have reached the alarming figure of 16,344. It was due to the above-mentioned efforts, according to statistics for May, that only 20 schools were actually forced to suspend at that time, and more than 9,600 students managed to continue their schooling. After the summer vacation, the number of students in all grades of private schools has increased significantly.

In the course of surmounting the difficulties confronting the private schools, the People's Government did whatever it could to help these schools to reform their organization, to set up the system of democratic administration, which greatly increased the confidence of the teachers, school staffs and students in carrying on their schools with concerted effort.

On the other hand, the People's Government granted the necessary subsidies to those private schools which were determined to carry on their educational work in the face of difficulties. In January, we appropriated JMP 100,000,000, to subsidize 31 schools which have proved to be satisfactory. In July, we received 910,000 catties of millet from the Central People's Government as relief for Shanghai's private schools. As a result of our energetic efforts in March and April as well as the betterment of Shanghai's economic situation, most of the private schools managed to overcome their difficulties and so did the teachers. Therefore, we had merely to distribute 593,942 catties of rice to 306 private schools and to enable 1,394 teachers to get the necessary subsidies.

(B) Relief of Unemployed Teachers and Students Deprived of Education

The job of relieving unemployed teachers has been undertaken by Shanghai's General Trade Union in concert with the Bureau of Education. We have not only mobilized hundreds of teachers to work in the Northeast and elsewhere, but have enrolled 193 unemployed teachers in the New Education Academy, to give them political, ideological as well as technical training, aiming at helping them to obtain work after the completion of their training.

In relieving the students deprived of schooling, our first task has been to open evening middle schools for them. Up to the present, 90 evening classes have been opened to 4,500 students. Out second task has been to increase the number of supplementary schools. Up to October, we have managed to accommodate 5,000 students in these schools. Thirdly, we have, in cooperation with the local working committee of the China New Democratic Youth League and the working committee of Shanghai Students' Welfare Association, opened short courses of political training for youth who have been without employment or deprived of schooling. Fourthly, we have assigned some of the private vocational schools to open polytechnic classes for these youth. Fifthly, we appropriated JMP 345,000,000 during last summer as a scholarship fund. Sixthly, we have, in supporting the students' service campaign during the summer vacation sponsored by the Shanghai Students' Union, helped many poor students to solve their tuition problems.

Generally speaking, as a result of the betterment of the economic situation in Shanghai, a favorable turn has been made in the case of school attendance. For instance, according to statistics for the autumn of 1949, the number of middle school students in Shanghai was 94,781, but during March this year, it was reduced to 76,278. However, in May, it was again increased to 85,884. There have been no accurate figures available for the number of students since the beginning of the present autumn semester, but it is quite likely that the number is over 100,000.

(C) Education Opens Its Door to the Masses of Workers and Peasants

Owing to financial limitations, and the number of teachers and school buildings, the educational facilities for Shanghai's workers and peasants are still far from meeting the actual demand. According to statistics of this spring, there were 49 evening schools for the workers, comprising 352 classes and 17,428 students; and 44 schools for workers and peasants, comprising 250 classes, and 9,837 students; 624 evening schools for workers' children, comprising 10,742 students. In August, in order to promote supplementary education in a more systematic way for Shanghai's workers and employees, we have, in conjunction with the General Trade Union of Shanghai, the Bureau of Labor, the Heavy Industry Department, Textile Industry Department, Democratic Women's Federation, the local Working Committee of the China New Democratic Youth League, the Association of Industry and Commerce, and all related quarters, set up a Supplementary Education Committee for Shanghai's workers and employees, which drafted a working plan for promoting supplementary education, as well as a working program for the second half of the current year. Our present work is proceeding in accordance with this program.

(D) On Reform in Education

In this sphere, we have also acted with great caution and prudence. We have carried out some indispensable reforms, such as the systems and disciplinary rules installed in school administration and in combining teaching with civic training, thereby setting up various systems and disciplines and stabilizing the order of learning. In the field of teaching materials for primary school students and the workers and employees, we have also carried out some initial reforms.

As the central link of educational reform lies in the ideological reorientation of the teachers and the students, and such a task can only be carried out through extensive solidarity and steady progress, our work in this direction has been to launch some occupational study societies, aiming at expansion of their experiences, in cooperation with the Educational Workers' Union, the local Working Committee of the China New Democratic Youth League, and the Students' Union, as well as to advance their understanding of international and national affairs, and to raise their political and ideological standard in a systematic way.

(2) Cultural Work

The entire cultural and educational work in Shanghai at the time of taking over was wholly concentrated in the hands of the Culture and Education Committee of the Military Control Commission. Later, the Higher Education Department, Municipal Education Department and Press and Publication Department—organs all coming under the Committee—were reorganized and competent administrative authorities and systems were set up. In view of the fact that Shanghai is the cultural center of China and is playing an important role in the cultural interflow with other countries, a proposal was submitted for the establishment of a Bureau of Cultural Affairs under the jurisdiction of the Shanghai People's Government. This new bureau was to be established on the basis of the Literature and Arts Department of the Military Central Commission, in order to handle all affairs relating to arts, motion picture production, reform of dramas, historical documents concerning Shanghai, and cultural liaison work with other countries.

The Bureau of Cultural Affairs was formally inaugurated in July this year. As it is still in its infancy, its machinery and work have just begun to take shape. The following is an outline of its work:

(A) In the Sphere of Arts

The work of the Arts Department is divided into five sections; namely, literature, drama, dance, music and fine arts respectively. For some time in the past, its work (actually, the work of the former Department of Literature and Arts), besides conducting extensive propaganda and sponsoring and organizing activities among the masses in coordination with vital political tasks of the day, was to concentrate on uniting and organizing all the workers in the field of literature and arts for their ideological reform and promotion of study.

In addition, it assisted in organizing various associations under the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Workers. In the course of the past year, more than 10,000 members have been enrolled in these associations under the Federation. The organization and routine administration have been established. The ideological level of the art workers as well as their understanding of the government's policy has been greatly improved.

Because of this fact, ever since the establishment of the office, its main task has not been in the field of organization, but to take the lead in inspiring and encouraging creative work, criticism, as well as in sending the art workers out among the masses, especially the masses of workers and peasants, in order to get acquainted with the actual life of the masses as a prerequisite to the production of inspiring and artistic work. Through the Literary and Art Workers' Representatives Conference held

last July, we, in conjunction with the technical training of the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Workers, opened a series of Sunday Lectures on Literature, sponsored singing contests in the city and summer contests among school dramatic troupes, and assisted amateur dramatic troupes in stage performances and organized creative works in cartoons, pictorial serials and New Year's pictures.

(B) In the Sphere of Films

As Shanghai has been a cinema film producing center, where nearly all of China's cinema film enterprises have been concentrated and where all the distributing agencies of American and British films are located, the administration work in this field in Shanghai is of vital importance. So far, our work has been confined to two directions. One has been to help the private film studios to resume operations in the face of difficulties and to produce films of educational value as far as they can. The other has been to negotiate, with the concerted effort of the Cinema Theater Workers' Union, with the local cinemas for showing the pictures produced by the state-operated film studios as well as the progressive pictures produced by private companies and the Soviet films, step by step as conditions permit, in order to restrict the reactionary degenerate American films.

To fulfil the first task, we advanced production loans to some of the private film producing studios, and guaranteed bank credits on their behalf, exempted or reduced their taxes, and helped them to export their films, and even to assist them by government investment, as well as to convert private studios into joint enterprises operated by both the government and private capital.

By these means, the private film producing studios were able to tide over the difficult time in April and May and to continue production, even to produce such a highly educational picture as "The Ideological Question."

To fulfil the second task, the market for American reactionary films and the degenerate films of private studios has been gradually curtailed by the high level of political awakening of the cinemagoers, and the progressive comments of film commentators, and a market for films of state studios, progressive films of private studios and the Soviet pictures has grown rapidly.

During the course of the past year, we have managed to push the progressive pictures to the front in the market of Shanghai. For instance, the patrons to the pictures produced by the state-operated studios increased from six percent in May to 10.2 percent in September, the patrons to the Soviet pictures increased from 11.7 percent in May to 12.5 percent in September. It goes without saying that this is a significant advance that we have made.

(C) Drama Reform Work

Among the major cities in the country, Shanghai is the foremost center of local dramas and various kinds of popular theatrical arts. The most remarkable characteristics of the drama reform work in Shanghai lie in the variety of types of drama, the enormous size of the audiences in the theaters where local dramas are staged, and the stupendous throng of popular artists.

In the first place, in accordance with the policies for reforming the culture and education of the old society laid down by Chairman Mao in his statement on June 6, 1950 and the directions of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government, we have adopted the lines of unifying the players on a broad basis and carrying out reforms gradually.

During the two months of vacation since July this year, we again inaugurated a study class for more than 1,000 players in local dramas, thereby enabling them to undertake two months' study both in the new ideology and their own art forms. This has served to help the promotion of drama reform work in the future.

At the same time, in coordination with the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Workers, we organized a special committee centered on the drama reform work, through which to unite literary and art workers of both the old and new schools and to encourage the rewriting and creation of plays for local dramas in order to meet the demands of various types of dramatic art.

We are now planning to organize some experimental troupes of players of Peking opera and other local dramas, hoping that by this winter or next spring certain specimen performances can be given with a view to expanding the influence of the drama reform work.

(D) International Cultural Interflow

Since the inauguration of the Central People's Government and the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union, various new democracies and a number of capitalist countries, the work of cultural liaison with foreign countries and of cultural and artistic interflow has become rather necessary in such an international metropolis as Shanghai.

During the past six months, a pictorial exhibition on new reconstruction in Hungary was staged, while new Hungarian movies were also shown on circuit. Through the cooperation of the Foreign National Affairs Department several soirees presenting Chinese motion pictures were held. For the time being, we are preparing to hold a photographic exhibition of reconstruction work in Rumania and to hold circuit shows of a miniature Czechoslovak art film entitled "Final Defence Line."

In the meantime, I should like to mention that during the past one year and more, the science and technical workers and health and medical workers of Shanghai have all exerted their utmost and scored important successes in the anti-KMT bombing struggle, the anti-epidemic movement and the campaign for curing schistosismasis among the PLA men. Because there has been no science popularization department under the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the Shanghai People's Government, the work in this field in Shanghai is directly under the leadership of the East China Department of Cultural Affairs. Since my present report does not deal with the work of the Health Bureau, I shall not report on it in detail here.

(3) Press and Publication

Shanghai has always been an important battle front in the ideological struggles against domestic and foreign enemies and, at the same time, the foremost center for private newspapers, publications and broadcasting stations. Since liberation, the number of public and private newspapers already registered has reached 12, with a daily circulation of about 400,000 copies while the number of magazines now published totals 76, with a circulation of nearly one million. Besides, there are altogether more than 200 publishers, which regularly issue new books, magazines and pictures, and 22 private broadcasting stations. Judging on a nation-wide basis, Shanghai occupies an extremely large percentage of all such activities.

Before liberation, there was a lack of planned organization and division of labor among Shanghai's press and publication circles. Some had stupendous organizations but no definite business policies; while others were short of capital and had inadequate machinery. Also, some publishers continued to speculate in publishing books of a momentary interest as well as those marked by feudalism or sex appeal. Owing to the change of social trend and the higher political consciousness among the readers after liberation as well as economic difficulties in Shanghai during March and April this year, the enterprises of press, publication and broadcasting circles have encountered great difficulties for already half a year. During this period, the work of the Press and Publication Office could not but be connected with reform and reconstruction aimed at readjusting relations between public and private enterprises and overcoming difficulties.

(A) Press

We have assisted the preparatory committee of the local Association of Journalistic Workers in organizing journalistic workers to study and reform themselves; constantly held press conferences; explained important policies and decrees to newspapermen; encouraged and helped various newspapers to serve specific strata of readers and make a division of labor among themselves with regard to the object of publicity; and aided them to maintain business and overcome difficulties through various means such as granting them loans in both cash and newsprint, public-and private joint management and private management in coordination with government help. Since September this year, the business of the various newspapers has shown a turn for the better, while a few papers have already become profitable under the policy of rationalization of enterprise.

During this period, all the newspapers and magazines have played a prominent part in conveying to their readers information about the tasks carried on by the government and in publicizing the policies of the government.

Especially since April this year, they have promoted extensively the movement of self-critlcism and mutual criticism in accordance with the "Directives Concerning the Promotion of Self-criticism and Mutual Criticism in Newspapers and Magazines" issued by the local people's government and mobilized the people of the whole city to examine, supervise, criticize and correct the work done by the government in Shanghai as well as the working style of the cadres.

Through this movement, good results have been achieved. During the past half year, more than 5,000 letters containing people's opinions were received from the masses, of which over 2,000 have proved helpful to our work and brought about a further exchange of information and opinions between government and people. Apart from this, during the past half year, the Press and Publication Bureau issued more than 700 items of news about the work done by the government and other news of local interest, thereby contributing greatly in acquainting the masses with the work and policies of the government.

(B) Publication

Aiming at "division of labor in publication but unified sales," we have, during the past half year, exerted our efforts to prepare for and

proceed with, the work of readjusting the production and sales of publishers; studied carefully the complicated conditions of local publishing enterprises as well as their sales; convened two discussion forums attended by representatives of local public and private publishing houses; and, after gathering public opinions, proposed to the Publication Administration of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government regarding the unified division of labor and management of publication enterprises within the country so as to overcome the difficulties confronted by the publication circles and enable them to march onto the road of people's publication. During the past half year, we also helped the publishers to form and further develop the organization of joint corporations.

Besides the "Joint Operated Book Company" formed by 54 new publishers, another "United Book Company of Popular Publications" comprising 74 publishers of popular reading materials is being organized. In coordination with the Bureau of Cultural Affairs and the Association of Art Workers, the Office of Press and Publication has helped in forming a "United Publishing Company for Serial Pictures," within which old-style serial picture artists and sellers are united on a broad basis in a joint effort to publish better popular books.

On the other hand, in order to solve the temporary financial difficulties for publishers, the office had, between December 1949 and September 1950, recommended 73 publishers to local banks to get loans amounting to JMP 3,823,500,000 and over 100,000 parity deposit units. Such loans were of great significance to the overcoming of difficulties and maintenance of production.

(C) Broadcasting

The work of the Shanghai People's Broadcasting Station has been improved, and programs of both political and artistic nature have been provided for Shanghai's listeners, especially the mass of workers. In order to expand the broadcasting work for the masses, workers broadcasting centers are being set up on a city-wide scale. Through the cooperation of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, the Office of Press and Publications has helped private broadcasting stations in improving their business and in uniting popular artists to supply reformed programs to them. Moreover, through consultations, the frequencies of private broadcasting stations have been readjusted, thereby preliminarily reducing the interferences encountered by people's broadcasting stations in various places. In view of the fact that the transmitting capacity of some private broadcasting stations exceeded that allowed for local stations, thereby resulting in disturbances to stations in other places, we have also tried to make the proper readjustments after successive studies and consultations.

There is no doubt that due to lack of experience and insufficient understanding of policies and ideas on the part of the cadres, a number of mistakes and shortcomings still exist in our work. We have not paid due regard to private-operated cultural enterprises in time, while authoritarianism and bureaucratism prevail to some extent among certain divisions of our organizations in carrying out policies. These shortcomings will be rectified through the remolding of the working style in our bureaus and offices.

III. Working Programs

Finally, on the basis of facts mentioned above, I will make an outline of the working program and administrative policies of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Bureau of Education, and the Press and Publication Office as follows:

(1) The administrative policy for the Bureau of Education from now on is to maintain, consolidate and improve the present educational capacity of various public and private schools and to develop steadily, from this basis, their activities and the spare-time education for workers and employees systematically.

The work of the Bureau of Education hereafter should be as follows:

(a) With the spirit of paying due regard to both public and private schools, the bureau should strengthen its direction and leadership over the school administrations as well as render possible financial help to them.

(b) To establish more municipal middle schools, night schools, supplementary schools as well as night schools for children so as to help the under-privileged students.

(c) Beside consolidating the night schools for workers and schools for workers and peasants already existing, the Bureau should promote spare-time education for workers and employees in a planned way, with the assistance of the Shanghai General Labor Union, Shanghai Working Committee of the China New Democratic Youth League and other relevent organizations.

(d) In accordance with the directions issued by the Ministry of Education, the Bureau should create new systems of education while reforms of the old system of education should be carefully investigated and studied. On the other hand, the Bureau should urge the teachers to study and discuss curricula and teaching materials extensively. These experiences will be submitted to the Ministry of Education for its reference.

(2) The policy of the Cultural Affairs Bureau henceforth is: On the one hand, it will enable, in a concerted effort with the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Workers, literary and art work to proceed from development of organization and institution of machinery to a far-reaching leadership in creative work and consolidation of criticism and to enable the literary and art workers to proceed from theoretical study and reform to actual linking-up in life with the broad masses of workers and peasants. On the other hand, the Bureau will readjust and help private cultural enterprises in strengthening their machinery, forming definite policies, and improving their business operation so that preparations may be made for future development on a solid base.

The important tasks to be fulfilled by the Bureau are as follows: (a) Closely uniting with the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Workers and with clear division of labor, the office of Fine Arts should mobilize cultural and art workers to experience practical life in factories and countryside as well as to participate in the agrarian reform in the areas south of the Yangtze River this winter. The main purpose of this is to enrich the life of writers and artists with practical struggle and experience and enable them to depict the heroic characters of our epoch.

(b) To strengthen the leadership in ideas and policies in the field of culture and fine arts, and the administration of cultural organizations on the one hand; to help and encourage the publication, production and performance of good artistic pieces and lead and develop art criticism systematically on the other.

(c) Closely uniting with the Shanghai General Trade Union, the Bureau should extensively promote the work of culture and fine arts for workers with all its strength.

(d) To accelerate the production of progressive films and halt the bad influence of Anglo-American films and nonsensical films produced by certain private film companies.

(e) To cooperate closely with the broad mass of popular artists and to lead and help them in reforming local drama so as to liquidate gradually its backwardness and create new national forms of art.

(3) The administrative policy of the Press and Publication Office henceforth is to continue to readjust, on the present basis of gradually improved conditions, the relations between public and private enterprises and to clarify the division of labor between various newspapers so as to realize the resolutions of the National Journalistic Work Conference and Publication Conference and steadily develop the people's press and publication enterprises. Meantime, the office will continue to organize and guide Shanghai's press, publication and broadcasting to wage an arduous ideological struggle. The struggle aims at further education and consolidation of the people of Shanghai. Thereby the mighty strength of the people will be mobilized and they will fight resolutely for a new Shanghai by rallying around the People's Government. The concrete tasks ahead for the office to fulfil are as follows:

(a) To render assistance to the press and publication workers of Shanghai and set up various organizations among them. Through these organizations, they will learn how to serve the people whole-heartedly by a change of ideology.

(b) To further publicize the policies, work and experiences of the government to the press and publication workers as well as the broad masses of Shanghai.

(c) To summarize the experiences gained during the criticism and self-criticism movement in the past and to develop criticism and self-criticism among the masses with strong leadership so as to unite the people and make improvement.

(d) To adjust and readjust the press and publications of Shanghai, and to strengthen those publications which represent the opinions of certain sections of the population.

(e) In accordance with the resolutions of the National Journalistic Work Conference and the National Publication Conference, to readjust the business, division of labor and the public-private relations of Shanghai's press and publication enterprises as well as to help the promising private-operated press or publication enterprises to overcome their difficulties.

(f) To advise, guide and organize the Shanghai press, publications and broadcasting; to publicize production movements; to coordinate closely with the work for 1951 in Shanghai; to do the present work with even greater devotion.

* * *

THE foregoing is all that I want to report on the cultural and educational activities of Shanghai and the direction of its efforts hereafter for your examination and approval. We believe that under the correct leadership of our superiors and relying on the efforts of all the cultural and educational workers in Shanghai and the assistance and co-operation of all the Shanghai people, the cultural and educational work in Shanghai will steadily march on to victory and success.

—Shanghai News Translation

LIU CHANG-SHENG'S REPORT ON UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

LIU Shang-cheng, chairman of the General Labor Union of Shanghai, made the following report on relief work to the unemployed workers at the Second Conference of Shanghai People's Representatives of All Circles:

Chairman, Representatives and Comrades:—

Following the February 6 bombing of Shanghai, the unemployment problem had become increasingly serious. The livelihood of the unemployed workers had fallen into a desperate condition. This was instantly taken up by the Shanghai Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government, and was brought up at the Third Conference of People's Representatives of All Circles for discussion.

The General Labor Union of Shanghai, on the one hand, submitted reports to the All China Federation of Labor about the condition and, on the other hand, called for those employed workers in the city to contribute one day's wage for the relief of the unemployed, which was warmly responded to by the workers in Shanghai. Consequently large sums of money were collected, expressing fully the friendly spirit among their own class.

In addition to this, to express their brotherly love, the PLA stationed in Shanghai and other places saved their board expenses and sponsored "military exhibitions," in order to contribute money for the relief fund.

The Shanghai People's Government made a special agreement with the Shanghai Food Corporation to borrow relief food from the latter. The Shanghai-Relief-Through-Production Committee and the East China Relief-Through-Production Committee alloted large sums of money. The Shanghai Federation of Industry and Commerce also called on the industrial and commercial enterprises in this city to contribute one day's wages. Moreover, young students, artistic and athletic circles also contributed money in the form of performing charity matches and shows.

Throughout the country, workers, under the call of the All China Federation of Labor, have launched a movement to contribute one day's wages for the lief of the unemployed workers in Shanghai and other places. Especially, the labor class in the Northeast not only contributed a total of JMP8,366,051,624 to help their brothers in Shanghai, but also sent a comforting group to give their best regards to the workers in this city who were fighting against hardships, thus strengthening their confidence and courage in the struggle to overcome difficulties.

Aside from material aid to us, people throughout the country have been continually giving us their consolations, which were of equal importance to the unemployed workers. Comforting letters came pouring in to us from all directions in the country, and up to the present, over 21,000 letters have been received. In each letter was expressed not only warm sympathy, but also resentment against the cruelty and shameful acts of US imperialism and the KMT brigands. Also, it was expressed in these letters that under correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government as well as assistance of the people throughout country, the unemployed workers in Shanghai were sure to overcome their temporary difficulties.

* * *

IN accordance with the reports received from Shanghai and various places, the Central People's Government instantly issued relief directives and measures, and though in the midst of unprecedented financial difficulties, alloted 400,000,000 catties of foodstuffs to the relief funds for the unemployed workers in Shanghai and other places. Chairman Mao in the June 6 communique instructed that we "must carry on energetically the relief work for the unemployed workers and intellectuals; and steps must be taken to help those unemployed to get jobs . . . ." This work, moreover, must be taken as one of the important tasks to "struggle for the basic turn for the better in the economic and financial conditions of the country."

In a word, after the liberation, the enemy has attempted to make workers jobless, to lay more difficulties upon us. However, this threat can only be of a temporary nature, because today's unemployed workers are not like those in the reactionary rule who had been left helpless and alone by the old society. Today, the Communist Party, the People's Government and General Labor Union are deeply concerned with the matter and are actively trying to solve the unemployment problem. The labor class and the people throughout the country are greatly assisting us to tide over this temporary difficulty. This signifies that under the leadership of Chairman Mao we have been closely united and have, with confidence, eliminated the difficulties confronting us.

The following statistics show the contributions to the relief fund of the unemployed workers in Shanghai.

	JMP
Various productive guilds	9,006,645,694.65
Government organs	606,502,211.00
Students	103,216,632.00
Individuals and others	111,715,663.00
Charity matches and shows (including JMP5,512,200 from the presentation of "The Red Flag" by the Workers' Club of West Shanghai)	35,397,799.00
Workers in other cities	109,395,916.00
Government organs in other cities	36,818,090.00
Students in other cities	19,408,460.00
Individuals and others in other cities	74,653,891.00
Brothers in the PLA (including JMP10,819,000 from the "Military Exhibition")	574,898,190.00
Industrial and commercial circles, public-operated enterprises and public and private-operated enterprises	5,057,097,444.09
Workers in the Northeast	8,366,051,624.00
Workers in Shantung province	589,000,000.00
Contribution from other circles	78,058,901.00
One percent of the relief fund (Up to October 4)	3,925,343,203.84
Allotment by the Shanghai People's Government	36,500,000,000.00
The Shanghai Relief-Through-Production Committee	2,000,000,000.00
The East China Relief-Through-Production Committee	70,000,000,000.00
The allotment of cereals by the Central People's Government	5,000,000,000.00
Total	JMP 142,194,203,719.58

* * *

SINCE April 21 of the current year, the relief work during the past five months may well be divided into three stages:

1) Along with the campaign of contributing one day's wage, a "Relief Fund Trust Committee" was set up by the General Labor Union of Shanghai. From April 21 to May 31, through various labor guilds, a mass feeding program has been carried out in various closed down factories, in order to bring relief to those unemployed and dependents who fell into most serious conditions.

2) During the month of May, the General Labor Union of Shanghai, as instructed by the decision passed in the relief conference sponsored by the Labor Department of the Central People's Government, and the decision made in the Third Conference of People's Representatives of All Circles in Shanghai, set up a "Provincial Relief Committee for Shanghai Unemployed Workers" on June 1, and in accordance with the "quick relief" project, has helped the productive firms to form relief organizations, has engaged in registration of workers, cultural and political studies, relief-through-production work, training programs for new occupations, production in native towns and other relief work.

3) On the base of the PRCSUW and as instructed by the Central People's Government, a Relief Committee for Shanghai's Unemployed Workers was formed, with Mayor Chen Yi as the Chairman, Liu Chang-sheng, Ma Shun-ku and Kwei Yen-fang as Deputy Chairman and 40 other members. A relief department was set up under the Committee, headed by Chu Chin-shing, Deputy Chairman of the General Labor Union of Shanghai and Yang Pin-yu, Chief of the Labor Insurance Department. Under this department, an office as well as five sections for registration, labor aid, relief, education and finance were set up. The whole staff numbered 461 persons, of which 96 comrades were sent by the General Labor Union of Shanghai, the Labor Bureau, the Bureau of Public Works and the Finance Bureau, while the remaining staff were unemployed workers.

According to recent statistics, during the past five months, altogether 90,653 unemployed workers and 133,002 dependents have received 19,954,661 catties of rice and JMP35,931,340,751 of relief funds. Contributions as well as relief funds received from the People's Government amounted to JMP142,194,203,719.58. We have done the following things:

1) In accordance with directives issued by the Central People's Government and the close collaboration of the local Public Security Bureau, 86,315 unemployed workers have completed their registration with the 28 trade unions in this city.

2) A total of 9,191 unemployed workers have been mobilized to participate in various works such as planting trees, breaking stones, joining river conservancy works, building roads, unloading and transportation work. According to the plan, around 40,000 unemployed workers will be given work at the end of this year.

3) With the assistance of the trade unions, 15 relief-through-production factories, such as hardware, coal briquette, lead wire, shirts and soldiers' shoes, have been organized with a total of 9,897 unemployed participating.

4) Some 1,767 unemployed workers and 1,419 dependents have been mobilized to participate in production in their native towns.

5) Various study classes on the subjects of politics, culture, relief-aid, agrarian reform and accounting have been organized, absorbing more than 22,000 unemployed workers. In addition, over 2,000 persons in the relief-through-production factories have been organized to attend study classes after their regular work.

6) Some 10,947 unemployed workers have been introduced to new occupations (not including volunteers and those re-employed at their former jobs). This work has been taken over by the section for Securing Employment of the General Labor Union. We believe that the project of training for new occupations will be well carried out by the General Labor Union.

7) The Bureau of Education, the Shanghai Work Committee of the China New Democratic Youth Corps and the Union of Educational Workers conducted relief work for unemployed intellectuals and youths in pursuance of directives issued by the State Administration Council of the Central People's Government and the East China Military Administrative Committee. While making active efforts to maintain schools, to relieve the unemployed teachers and students not in schools, these organs have also started training classes, organized study groups, introduced job opportunities and distributed living subsidies. Altogether 1,569 unemployed teachers have been registered, of whom over 200 persons, on the introduction of the Bureau of Education, have entered the new normal school for training to become teachers in workers' schools and schools in factories. Another 100 persons have obtained jobs, and the remaining ones have been given relief according to the measures governing the relief of the unemployed workers. It was especially noteworthy that the Bureau of Education has issued 593,924.1 catties of rice as relief food to the schools which were undergoing hardships, and to provide a livelihood for the teachers. This has prevented 1,394 persons from unemployment; and 306 schools have received relief.

Up to August of the current year, 8,727 unemployed and youth not in school have received education through various study classes, such as the Youths' Learning Society, the preparatory class for schooling and professional work, political study classes, and technical training classes.

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THE unemployment problem has been basically checked. But in a few enterprises run by foreign interests, owing to the difficulties of importing goods and securing raw materials as a result of the economic blockade by the imperialistic countries and the KMT brigands, the number of unemployed workers is still on the increase.

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AS we have correctly carried out the directives effected by the Central People's Government and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government, we have in general stabilized the livelihood of the unemployed workers and eliminated their pessimistic outlook, through the assistance of the people of all circles and the contribution of one day's wages.

As a result, the relationship between management and labor has become more normal day by day; the political consciousness of the unemployed workers has been raised, and the confidence of overcoming difficulties further confirmed, making it possible for the unemployed workers and employed workers to realize that "the People's Government is certainly the government of the people themselves. The social position of the working class is different from that in the past."

During this period, because of the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the People's Government, and the great assistance extended by the people and efforts exerted by the comrades, we had a few initial experiences:

1) Emergency relief: After the February 6 bombing, as several factories and shops were closed down, the unemployment problem increased. People were agitated about the condition. Capital and labor disputes became more serious. Even the unity among workers was affected. Special agents of the Chiang Kai-shek brigands, then used the opportunity to spread rumors among the unemployed workers and sought to deceive and agitate them to fight against the government. Under such circumstances, emergency relief has played a vital role, for first it pacified the sentiment of the great mass of both the unemployed and employed workers, improved the relationship between capital and labor, maintained social order and educated the great mass of the people.

The relief measures fully expressed the deep concern of the Party, the People's Government and the General Labor Union for the unemployed workers and other workers and had some effect as far as the political situation was concerned.

2) Quick relief: As soon as decisions were made to relieve the unemployed workers, especially when measures and directives governing the relief of the unemployed workers were issued by the State Administration Council of the Central People's Government, we instantly adopted a "quick relief" method. At first, we brought relief to the unemployed workers in the large units. In regard to the registration work, we preferred to wait until the relief work was in progress. This was important for the unity of the unemployed workers and the staff, because, by doing so, the disturbance among the workers themselves could be avoided. Further, the dissatisfaction because of the slow relief and even the prejudices concerning relief work as only a superfluous measure, could also be eliminated.

Of course, by doing so, we could not help but make mistakes about the procedure, objects of relief and the distribution of the amount of relief funds and food. But we are not afraid of this, because this problem can be solved by the assistance of the mass unemployed workers themselves. "Quick relief" does not mean disorderly relief, but emphatic relief to those unemployed workers and staff who in productive enterprises and who have joined various labor unions.

3) The relief work should be carried on systematically in accordance with the correct course of the work of the General Labor Union, but should, on the other hand, be separated from the regular routine work of the General Labor Union. Under such circumstances, the relief work can be carried on more easily.

When the relief work was under the general routine of the General Labor Union, the unemployed workers felt that they had lost their membership in the union and did not receive proper attention. At the same time, the employed workers did not feel responsible in helping and uniting with the unemployed workers. Thus, the relief work should be separated from the general routine of the General Labor Union in order that both types of work will not be weakened.

4) To train cadres from the unemployed workers: We resolutely believe in the people and are dependent on them. We have set up a training class and some 1,400 unemployed workers have undergone training, of which more than 1,200 have participated in the relief work. Thereby, on the one hand, the problem of the lack of cadres was solved and, on the other, the general work of the General Labor Union was not affected. This has made a good impression on the unemployed workers. They realize that relief work was the work of every person and was dependent on the efforts made by every one.

* * *

WE have gained some results in doing relief work during the past five months. But due to lack of experience, the complexity of the work and, moreover, the deficiency of our efforts, certain shortcomings still exist.

1) We have not resolutely and quickly carried out the directives issued by the Central People's Government to take the "relief-through-production" project as the basis for the relief of unemployed workers. Up to the present, only 10,000 unemployed workers have been absorbed in participating in the relief-through-production project, which, under such a slow development, has been limited to the city construction work only. At the same time, though efforts have been made to repair lines and clear sewers in the residential districts of workers, very little achievement has been made for the welfare of the workers such as in sanitary works, the construction of rest homes for the workers and athletic grounds. For the work-relief project, no satisfactory results have been obtained as to tools, computation of wages, technical education, cultural and amusement activities, control system and labor discipline.

2) Education for the unemployed workers has been limited to a few active persons and the establishment of training classes. As a matter of fact, this fell far short of meeting the requirements of the mass of unemployed workers. Especially, it was not sufficient to require only the learning of a technique by the unemployed workers and the mobilization of the employed workers of certain cultural and technical standards to participate in the work. Therefore, the whole work has been limited to a small circle.

3) Taking a lead in the relief work of those unemployed workers in various trade unions, the Relief Committee, with the exception of issuing relief food to the unemployed workers who have been certified by the trade unions, has failed to grasp the important points. With regard to further systematic education and the interchange of experiences so as to reflect the actual conditions of the work and lives of the unemployed workers, little achievement has been made.

4) Everyone was active and prompt at the beginning in paying his relief fund, but not very active at the present time. The total amount of the one day's wage contributed by the local industrial and commercial enterprises should be the same as that contributed by the employed workers, which was JMP9,000,000,000. But up to the present, only JMP5,000,000,000 has been collected. The one-percent regular relief fund should have been collected in the month of August, but up to now, a very small amount has been collected. For August, a total of JMP6,000,000,000 should have been collected, but only a total of JMP2,400,000,000 has been collected, and from September 1 to September 20 only a total of JMP237,000,000 has been collected. Some people thought that the relief work was to be taken up by the government only. They have neglected their own obligations and the

important meaning of the relief work. Here I want to appeal to everyone of you to continue your help to us.

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IN order to improve the relief work we have to take cognizance of the following points:

1) We must resolutely carry out the directives issued by the Central People's Government in developing the relief-through-work project. Especially, we must lay stress on the labor power of the unemployed workers, and attention should be paid to the repairing and construction of workers' homes, sanitary facilities, cadres schools of the Labor Union, swimming pools, public athletic grounds, parks and rest homes. By doing so, we have to revise the existing relief plans. When it is needed, the employed workers can be mobilized to participate in the work so as to strengthen the unity between them and the unemployed worksre.

We must persuade the unemployed workers to participate willingly in the relief work, and, in expressing our thanks to the love and assistance of Chairman Mao, the People's Government, people of all circles and the employed staff and workers, we must assure them of the completion of the relief plans. At the beginning of the relief work, we must take care of the unemployed workers because of their lack of skill.

2) To form training classes for changing occupations in accordance with the need of the development of industry, so as to train a large number of skilled workers to participate in the construction of new China.

3) To develop education widely, in cooperation with the relief-through-works project. At the same time, such education should be done together with the workers who can read so as to raise the political and cultural standards of the unemployed workers. Trade unions should also see to it that the employed workers take the initiative in uniting with the unemployed.

4) To intensify organization and unity of the unemployed workers: The organization must not be the same in form as that of the employed workers. Those who have joined the labor unions must be maintained, but the unemployed workers may be organized for different interests concerning cultural, political and technical studies with due consideration of the different localities in the city (because the unemployed workers have no means to take street cars). Therefore, the organization of the unemployed workers may be different and more flexible. The form of organization of the representatives' meeting of the unemployed workers to be convened may also be taken into consideration.

5) To strengthen the small groups: The distribution of relief food must be carried out in the form of democratic assement with everybody responsible so as to strengthen and develop group life and to raise the prestige of the group leader, who must constantly be in charge in taking leadership. The present way of issuing relief food according to the name list through the relief organizations of the various trade unions should be re-considered and improved quickly. In issuing the relief rice, the work must be done impartially, reasonably, and the procedure should be simple and accurate.

6) Different relief organizations must take on varied activities such as holding forums, making reports, reviewing the work done and various cultural and amusement activities to intensify the unity of the group leaders and cadres.

7) A monthly budget for relief work must be set up and a statement of revenue and expenditures be made public in the newspapers periodically with a view to strengthening the propaganda and checking on the relief work.

8) The trade unions must explain to the employed workers that we must assure the carrying out of the directives issued by the State Administration Council of the Central People's Government. The relief department must also obtain constant connection with the Federation of Industry and Commerce and the various trade unions to carry through the directives and pay the relief fund voluntarily.

In a word, we must not limit ourselves to the initial stage in doing relief work. From now on, further steps must be taken in penetrating into the work of education, organization, unity and the relief-through-work projects, through which the political consciousness of the unemployed workers can be raised.

Having undergone constant struggles and training, workers in Shanghai, who never fear hardships, posses the utmost revolutionary tradition. Before liberation, their struggles were against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism; and since liberation, they have struggled against the blockade and bombings.

I believe that from now on workers in Shanghai, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government will continue their struggles, resolutely opposing the provocations and intrigues of US imperialism.

— Review Translation

Documents and Speeches

Copies of the China Weekly Review *containing translations of the following documents and speeches are still available for those readers who wish to keep a complete file of important speeches and statements of the new China's leaders, as well as of all major laws and regulations put into effect during the past year:*

	in China (including postage)	*abroad (including postage)*
Common Program of the PPCC	JMP9,000	US$0.40
Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Republic	JMP6,000	US$0.30
Full Text of the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council	JMP6,000	US$0.30
Liu Shao-chi's Speech on Sino-Soviet Friendship...	JMP6,000	US$0.30
List of Officials of the Central People's Government	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Full Text of Li Li-san's Speech on China's Trade Union Movement...	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Text of Treaty and Agreements between China and the Soviet Union ...	JMP4,000	US$0.20
China's Finances and Food—an Official Report by Chen Yun	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Full Text of Liu Shao-chi's Labor Day Speech	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Tung Pi-wu's Statement on Relief and Welfare Work	JMP4,000	US$0.20
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Ch Yun's Report to the PPCC on Industry, Commerce and Taxation	JMP4,000	US$0.20
eports to the PPCC National Committee: ... ... a) Mao Tse-tung's Closing Address b) Kuo Mo-jo's Report on Cultural and Educational Work in China c) Shen Chun-ju's Report on the People's Court	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Full Text of China's Agrarian Reform Law	JMP4,000	US$0.20
Liu Shao-chi's Analysis of the Agrarian Reform Law	JMP4,000	US$0.00
China's Trade Union Law and Comment by Li Li-san	JMP4,000	US$0.22
Jao Shu-shih's Report on Land Reform in East China — Tseng Shan's Report on Financial and Economic Work in East China	JMP6,500	US$0.30
Documents Pertaining to China's Foreign Relations from Oct. 1, 1949 to Sept. 1950	JMP6,500	US$0.30
Reports on State of the Nation by Chou En-lai and Chen Yun	JMP6,500	US$0.30